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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA
EXPERIENCES OF INDIAN STUDENTS UNDERGOING
ACCULTURATION IN URBAN HIGH SCHOOLS:

AN EXPLORATORY STUDY

by



DONALD HENRY HOLMGREN

A THESIS

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The undersigned certify that they have read,
and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies for
acceptance, a thesis entitled "Experiences of Indian
Students Undergoing Acculturation in Urban High Schools:
An Exploratory Study" submitted by Donald Henry Holmgren
in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree
of Master of Education.

ABSTRACT

This is an exploratory study of the experiences of a small number of native students who were undergoing acculturation in urban high schools. Data were collected by means of depth interviews with thirteen native students. The interviews focused on the perceptions of respondents of their experiences in the city and at school, and of their relationships to these cultures. The contents of these interviews were coded and analyzed to provide a descriptive analysis of the data.

Findings were presented within a framework provided by Gerald D. Berreman's theory of reference group alienation, mobility, and acculturation. Analysis indicated that respondents generally expressed a desire to be accepted and respected by Euro-Canadians. This desire, as well as the norms of the dominant group, was reported to influence behavior. There was a general desire to succeed in the dominant society; education was seen as a means to this success.

All respondents clearly and regularly dichotomized between natives and Euro-Canadians. It was felt that Euro-Canadians do not understand natives as well as do other natives; restraint was felt in their presence.

Discrimination by other students was felt to be a common experience. Discrimination by teachers was

reported to be more restricted. More commonly, respondents indicated that they felt that teachers did not understand and/or declined to deal with the native situation. All respondents felt that some Euro-Canadians do discriminate against natives and it was felt that natives feel inferior in the presence of Euro-Canadians.

Respondents' friendship ties were almost exclusively native. Every respondent expressed a strong pride in his ancestry and there was strong identification with group norms. Several respondents evidenced a retention of traditional beliefs, often finding themselves caught between opposing belief systems. Respondents were accused by other natives of being "whitewashed," of "acting smart," of forgetting their heritage, and of forgetting their people. Pressures applied to them included humiliation, rejection and physical attack.

Respondents' initial weeks in the city had been lonely and difficult. Several reported difficulties in foster homes. Most did not like living in the city but enjoyed its entertainment; most planned to live in native communities but now found life at home boring.

An examination of the findings indicated that the respondents exhibited many of the personality characteristics of Sebald's "marginal type" of Indian adolescent, and that the school may have been responsible for the development of these personality characteristics.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION TO THE PROBLEM

I. INTRODUCTION

The process of acculturation has been documented among many indigenous groups in North America. A well-confirmed aspect of this process has been the rejection, to varying degrees, of the traditional culture and adoption of alien culture models derived from the dominant group. This has occurred most noticeably when contacts have been both extensive and intensive; particularly when, as has usually been the case, culture change has been "directed" - when the alien group have been dominant as administrators, teachers and other agents of authority.

An example of this type of contact is the experience of Indians¹ within Canadian public school systems. Canadian public schools have traditionally propagated the cultural values of the middle-class majority. The process of acculturation has been almost entirely one-way, with the accommodation being made by the minority group; almost never by the school or the majority (Hawthorn 1968: 119;

¹For the purposes of this study, an Indian is defined as any person of Indian ancestry who lives within the social, cultural and economic referents of a given Indian group. It includes both registered Indians (see next page) and others of Indian ancestry.

Cardinal 1969: 51-61; Fisher 1969). Culturally distinctive, often economically deprived and subjected to the direction of a paternalistic Department of Indian Affairs, the Indian student has been placed in this system with the expectation that he will assimilate the values of the majority. Often, his own values come into direct conflict with those of the dominant culture (Fisher 1969: 33). His experience is, in many ways, an almost classic example of directed culture change.

This experience has become much more widespread in recent years as emphasis has been placed on education as a means to break the "cycle of poverty" of the Indian. Education has been recognized as one of the fundamental prerequisites for the achievement of economic and social opportunities by any group of people in Canada (Card 1968: 51; Porter 1965: 165-168). One result has been a dramatic expansion in school populations including Indian school populations: in Alberta the figure for registered Indians² increased from 2,264 in 1949 to 9,588 in 1970 (Government of Canada 1971: 1); in Canada it increased from 23,285 in 1948 to 55,475 in 1964 (Hawthorne 1968: 2:31).

At the same time there has been a phasing out of

²For the purposes of this study, a registered Indian is defined as any person who is registered with the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development as an Indian.

federally-run schools. Increasing numbers of Indian students have been attending the same schools as non-Indian students. In Alberta, in 1945, no registered Indians attended provincial schools; by 1970, 5,951 did so, representing just over 62 per cent of the total registered Indian school population. In Canada, in 1945, fewer than 100 registered Indians attended integrated schools; by 1964, 22,764 did so, representing over 40 per cent of the entire registered Indian school population. By 1967, this percentage had risen to over 50 per cent (Hawthorn 1968: 2:31).

As well, increasing numbers of Indian students are attending secondary school. For example, between 1948 and 1964, the Canadian figure for registered Indians rose from 700 to about 5,000 (Hawthorn 1968, 2:31). A result of this expansion has been that increasing numbers of Indian students are to be found in urban high schools.

This study is a modest attempt to survey empirically the experiences of a small number of Indian students undergoing acculturation in urban high schools, using the depth interview as an instrument.

II. THE PROBLEM

The problem is: what are the experiences of a small number of Canadian Indian students undergoing acculturation in urban high schools?

The purposes of the study were twofold. The

first was to explore the processes of acculturation as experienced by a small number of Indian students attending urban high schools in Alberta. The second purpose was to develop from this exploration suggestions and recommendations in this area for further and later research, which might apply to a larger population.

III. SIGNIFICANCE OF STUDY

Large gaps in communication seem to exist between Indian students and the middle-class personnel-teachers, counsellors, Department of Indian Affairs employees, and others - who play so prominent a part in their lives (King 1967: 65; Fisher 1969). This study, although limited in sample size, will be significant in that its findings may help to bridge those gaps. It is hoped that a better understanding of the lives and problems faced by these students will eventually lead to a more constructive and rational basis for social action.

A second contribution will be made by this study in that it will contribute to the knowledge of the role of the school in the processes of acculturation. In a country such as Canada, in which compulsory education has been a primary means of integrating into the society people from a plethora of cultural backgrounds, data in this area assume special significance. By investigating the acculturation processes experienced by these students, this

study will help to provide such data.

A further contribution will be made by the study in that it will provide limited data about some aspects of Indian education in the urban setting. Although there have been many studies of Indian education in the rural setting (e.g. King 1967; Wax, Wax and Dumont 1964; Zentner 1963; Wolcott 1967; Rohner 1967), very few have been done in the city. Abu-Laban's study (1965) is one of the few studies done in this area, especially vital in light of recent trends toward larger Indian enrolments in urban schools (cf. Card 1970). This study will help to overcome that deficiency by documenting the experiences of a small number of Indian students in urban schools in Alberta.

IV. DELIMITATIONS OF STUDY

As the data were to be collected with the aim of gaining a clear, firsthand picture of a small number of Indian students attending urban high schools, the intention was frankly exploratory. Because of this exploratory intention, the study was planned to be intensive rather than extensive. The attempt was aimed not at developing generalizations but at examining this one segment of native students in miniature, at trying to make sense of it, and than at offering this explication to others. The depth interview was selected as the most suitable instrument with which to attempt to accomplish this aim. A strength

of this technique is that it provides a direct link to the group being studied, thus circumventing many of the theoretical problems which arise in the use of scales, questionnaires, etc. As well, this technique allows for more flexibility than do most research techniques, and permits for deep probing and clarification. This was felt to be very important in dealing with subjects who might have language problems. However, use of the depth interview severely restricted sample size because of the great amount of time required to gather and analyze data in this fashion. Thus the generalizability of this study is severely restricted. This is not to suggest, however, that this study deals with unique or even distinctive persons and phenomena. It is, instead, a micro-level study that, hopefully, other investigators will be able to utilize in a more systematic study to ascertain its validity and range of applicability at a later date.

V. ORGANIZATION OF THE STUDY

This study has been divided into seven chapters. In the following chapter, there is set forth a review of research literature pertinent to the study. Chapter III discusses the instrumentation, the sample, and the data collection. Chapter IV presents the methods of analysis. The subsequent chapters present the data, a discussion of the findings, and conclusions supported by the data. The

final chapter is devoted to a summary of the research and recommendations for further research drawn from the study.

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CHAPTER TWO

RELATED LITERATURE

In this chapter, research literature related to the problem is examined. A substantial body of literature concerning Indians in general, Indian culture change and Indian education was examined but has not been included in this survey because it was found to be of only peripheral significance to the problem. Material germane to acculturation theory is presented mainly under three rubrics: processes of culture change, personality adjustment to culture change, and attitudes toward culture change. Additional areas investigated are Indian urban adjustment and experiences of the Indian child in school.

I. PROCESSES OF CULTURE CHANGE

Prerequisite to the processes of acculturation are the processes of culture change. This section examines studies of culture change in order to identify and depict elements which influence that change. Major emphasis is placed on the processes of directed culture change.

One example of the processes of directed culture change, of the Slave Indians of the MacKenzie River area, is a study by June Helm MacNeish (1956), following a fourteen month visit. MacNeish found the social organization quite simple, extending only to the biological family,

the immediate settlement and a few close kin in the region. An atomistic society with almost no formal structure, it imposes few expectations on the individual. It is also highly egalitarian. Some individuals exercise more influence over family and community than others, but this is by virtue of personal characteristics rather than by status or office.

This atomistic and egalitarian nature of their social structure produces a people who feel themselves free agents, and for whom processes such as correction and discipline of others are alien. This attitude makes it difficult for the Indian to cope with the world of the White man. At the same time, he is greatly attracted to the products of its technology, getting a much distorted view of the White world from magazines, radio, trappers' tall tales, etc. The result is envy:

These windows, however distorted, all combine to foster envy and desire in the Indian, for by these standards, his own life seems especially arduous and underprivileged. (MacNeish 1956: 177)

Education is viewed by the Indians as a means to attain these products. But they want education to be practical training. They feel that after learning to read and write, the student should obtain technical education which is immediately practical - this is seen as the quickest way to get a job and the possessions it makes possible. MacNeish feels that this desire for consumer

goods is a motivation upon which the schools should build (MacNeish 1956: 178).

A large proportion of the White personnel of the region are employed in jobs requiring them to restrict or in some way interfere in the Indians' affairs. MacNeish notes their attitudes:

. . . It suffices to say that most of the reactions and stereotypes directed toward the Indian are of the sort manifested by middle-class Anglo-Americans toward any alien group - the end result is an un-hostile but condescending assumption of superiority - moral, intellectual and social. (MacNeish 1956: 180)

The outcome is that there is no apparent racial tension between the groups, but neither is there sympathy or rapport.

A second example of the processes of directed culture change is provided by Robert J. Dryfoos (1970), who conducted a seven-month study of differing rates of directed culture change at Great Whale River. He found that Hudson Bay Eskimos have adapted more readily than Indians to Euro-Canadian culture, as evidenced by sharp differences in recall of former customs and beliefs. Only about 12 per cent of the Eskimos were able to give information about these, in comparison to 75 per cent of the Indians. As well, the Indians had a much larger amount and depth of such knowledge.

In the desire to perpetuate this knowledge, Dryfoos found that most Indian fathers thought it desirable

for their children to learn of traditional Indian customs and took pains to tell them about the "way things were done, and what we believed before the white man came." Practically every Eskimo, on the other hand, had dispensed with such teaching, explaining that the "old days have little value for today's children."

Dryfoos hypothesizes four reasons for these differences:

1. In the past, the Eskimos faced an environment that was more continuously threatening than did the Indians. The Eskimos may thus have been more apt to recognize the advantages of Euro-Canadian culture;
2. Traditionally, Indian culture was more highly structured than Eskimo culture. The Eskimos have never considered themselves members of a cohesive society, while the Indians continue to view themselves as a tribe. This functions as an integrating mechanism and helps to provide a sense of identity;
3. The Indians have comparatively inferior status. The Euro-Canadian population greatly favors the Eskimo and both Indians and Eskimos are well aware of this attitude. As a result, the Indians feel some resentment and hostility. Perpetuation of traditional knowledge may serve the Indians as a relatively safe outlet for aggression against the Whites and it may also serve to strengthen the Indians' image of them-

selves in the face of these attitudes;

4. The Eskimo ecological orientation has shifted completely from the sea to the village, severing the traditional ties with the whole fabric of the past. The Indian is still somewhat bush-oriented and the old way of life that went with the bush still lingers as a nostalgic image.

Further insight into the processes of culture change is provided by Norman A. Chance (1965), who studied the phenomenon of rapid acculturation without the usual accompanying cultural disintegration. He found that the Eskimos at Kaktovik had undergone rapid culture change with the introduction of the DEW line, without cultural disintegration. He attributes this phenomenon to six paramount reasons:

1. The people had a predisposition to change already built into their socio-economic system in that greater value was placed on adaptability than on conformity;
2. This people voluntarily chose to change large segments of this system to fit an Anglo-American model;
3. The majority of goals associated with these changes were capable of realization;
4. They participated in the changes together as a group;
5. Most major alterations in previous life-patterns occurred together in such a way as to preserve a total cultural balance; and

6. The people were able to maintain control over their own internal affairs without outside coercion.

At the level of the individual, Edward M. Bruner (1956), in a study of the Mandan-Hidatsa, found that early experience in the nuclear family is decisive in the acculturative process. Mandan-Hidatsa families specifically prepare their children for life either in the white world or to remain Indian. An individual in Lone Hill becomes acculturated in two steps: first there must be a white model, so that at least one of the parents has a fundamental understanding of American culture; and second, the parents must consciously, deliberately, and actively train their children to become like Whites.

From the above studies, it would appear that the processes of directed culture change are subject to many influences, including the following:

1. The relative statuses of groups involved;
2. The social organization of the subordinate group;
3. The predisposition towards change built into the subordinate group's socio-economic system;
4. Attitudes of subordinate group members toward change;
5. The amount and result of major alterations in previous patterns of life-style of the subordinate group;
6. The degree of realization possible for goals associated with changes desired by the subordinate group;

7. Early experiences of subordinate group members in the nuclear family.

II. PERSONALITY ADJUSTMENT TO CULTURE CHANGE

Personality adjustment to culture change is an integral part of acculturation, and an important facet of acculturation theory is the effect of culture change upon the individual. This section examines related research literature in order to identify and depict the processes involved. Some emphasis is placed upon examination of the development of marginal personalities.

Personality adjustment to culture change has been investigated in a great number of studies. Many of these have found there to be a strong persistence of aboriginal personality characteristics (e.g. Friedl 1956; Caudill 1949; Boggs 1958; James 1961). Perhaps the most striking evidence of the persistence of aboriginal psychological structure is provided by the work of A. Irving Hallowell (1955), who administered Rorschach projective tests to several hundred Ojibwa people living at three levels of acculturation. These Indians varied in the degree to which their sources of subsistence, social organization, religion, and language approximated aboriginal or modern culture. Hallowell's conclusion is dramatic:

. . . Even the highly acculturated Indians at Hanbeau are still Ojibwa in a psychological sense whatever their clothes, their houses, or their occupations, whether they speak English

or not, and regardless of race mixture. While culturally speaking, they appear like "Whites" in many respects, there is no evidence at all of a fundamental psychological transformation. (Hallowell 1955: 351)

These findings are corroborated by the Spindlers (1957; 1958), who did a study of Menominee Indians with four distinct levels of acculturation, from a native-oriented base to a thoroughly acculturated white collar group. Their conclusions concerning stability and retention of psychological structure were fundamentally the same as those of Hallowell with one important exception: the Menominee situation provided a group of Indians who had entered high-prestige positions equivalent to those of high-status white persons in the vicinity. This group exhibited a dramatic psychological reformulation apparently appropriate to their comparatively full participation in the structure of behavior and rewards associated with middle class American culture.

On the basis of extensive surveys of ethnographic data, the Spindlers concluded that a number of psychological characteristics are widely enough shared among Indians to be regarded as "modal tendencies." These included non-demonstrative emotionality and reserve; a pattern of generosity; autonomy of the individual; stoicism in the face of pain, hardship, hunger and frustration; a positive valuation of courage and bravery; a fear of witchcraft; a disposition to practical jokes; an emphasis in problem

solving on the concrete and immediate rather than abstract and long-range; and a basic belief in the powerlessness of the individual and dependence upon supernatural power.

These features are undergoing modification due to culture change and the Spindlers suggest a typology of "reaction types" generated in culture change: (1) native type; (2) reaffirmative native type; (3) transitional type; and (4) a deviant type. This typology has been adapted and modified by Hans Sebald (1968) to fit the experience of the Indian adolescent. His paradigm includes five types.

The first is the "marginal type." This teenager is in a transitory stage, shifting from the Indian to the White style of life. Suspended between, he has little allegiance to either, and often experiences rejection from both. Pressures to adjust come from both sides, often incongruous and contradictory to each other. In a sense, this youngster must retain his identity as an Indian and yet learn to live as a second class white man. This paradoxical and conflicting situation leaves him without direction, often prodding him on to compensatory and delinquent patterns.

The "native type" refers to a youngster raised almost exclusively as an Indian, with only superficial contact with white culture. This type represents, as closely as it is possible today, the aboriginal type of

of his tribe. His training does not equip him to adequately engage in the white world, so he is prone to remain in the semi-isolation of his native setting and carry on the ancestral traditions.

The "reaffirmative-native type" refers to the teenager who spent his childhood in the traditional setting, but later spent some time closely involved in the white man's world, usually in a boarding school. He has found the white culture unacceptable, and has rebounded to the traditional setting where he readily and avidly reverts to the tribal customs and ceremonies. He attempts to submerge his doubts about the traditional culture by compensatory and self-conscious participation in tribal customs.

The "deviant type" focuses primarily on the teenager who joins specific or ultraethnic groups such as the Peyote Cult. These groups and the rituals connected with them constitute a varied solution to the problem of culture conflict and self-doubt engendered by the culture change situation by providing a social reference point for the free-floating, marginal individual and by providing a rationalization of the culture conflict itself. They can substitute, at least temporarily, a fantasy world for the real one, allowing the participant to escape from the indignities and deprivation of his everyday life.

The "acculturated type" refers to a teenager who grows up almost exclusively according to the norms and values of the white society. The psychological constellation of this type shows a marked absence of some of the traditional traits of the aboriginal Indian; instead this type is the achievement-oriented middle-class American personality.

Seymour Parker (1964) suggests another way of looking at acculturation which may be helpful in viewing personality adjustment to acculturation. He suggests that there are two modal points in acculturation. In the first stage, aspects of the material culture and attitudes of Western society are used in a imitative manner. These do not affect the basic self-identity of the individual concerned, and are not significantly related to their lives.

In the second stage, individuals begin to internalize Western values and patterns of behavior. These values cease to be epiphenomena and become part of the motivational system and self-identity. Individuals identify with the host group or with that segment of it most congenial to their own personality and cultural values. It is at this stage that problems of ethnic identity frequently become prominent.

It is also at this stage that the attitudes of the host group towards the acculturating one become

extremely crucial in personality adjustment. As Broom and Kitsuse (1955: 48) note:

Access to participation in the dominant institution is a precondition for the validation of acculturation. . . . But access to the dominant society is limited by diverse factors which create stress in interethnic situations, provide for the prolonged survival of parallel ethnic institutions and result in deferring the validation of acculturation.

This limiting of access to participation in the dominant institutions can directly affect personality adjustment as noted by James (1961), who begins by emphasizing the importance of racial visibility:

But racial visibility is perhaps the most significant single barrier to assimilation. . . . This element of the stereotype is enormously important because it anchors such "inferiority" in the biology of the individual, beyond his control. It hereby blocks adjustment to the very forces that generate the desire to escape subcultural status.

If efforts to assimilate are blocked either by the rewards for maintaining subcultural affiliation (rights, public assistance, dependency, etc.) or by the punishment of Indian racial visibility, the individual finds himself in an impasse. To the extent that he accepts the values of White culture and defines his goals in terms of them - as inevitably he must to participate successfully in the roles that constitute the subcultural extension of White institutions, he is forced to admit the validity of the stereotype. He is pressed to internalize the negative stereotype as a self image, to conclude that he is, in fact, an "inferior person."

Inferiority does not stabilize, however, as a caste-like modus operandi. Such adjustment is upset by the constant enticements of White values, preachments via radio, television, newspapers, magazines, the schools, politicians, talk about being the "first Americans," equality,

and so forth. The wide range of Indian visibility moreover, prevents consistent stereotypic treatment of Indians by Whites or by other Indians. Conflict is maintained and the Ojibwa self develops characteristics of the typical marginal personality. . . .
(James 1961: 734)

This development of marginal personalities by Indian students is further described in a study by Graham and Taylor (1969), who conducted a survey among seventy-three high school Indian students from seven different tribes who were enrolled in the All-Indian Upward Bound Project in Arizona in the summers of 1967 and 1968. The survey gathered the opinions of the students about reservations, tribal customs, language and tribal history.

Graham and Taylor came to two general conclusions. The first is that many elements of Indian heritage are still present in the lives of these students and that these elements have a pervasive effect on their lives. This finding supports the conclusions of Hallowell and the Spindlers. Their second conclusion is that these students are experiencing a general state of confusion. They no longer closely identify with their more traditional parents, but their heritage is still pervasive enough to prevent full conformity with the dominant culture to which they are exposed in the schools.

Another important factor in personality adjustment is suggested by Kerckhoff and McCormick (1955), who attempted to clarify the relationship between the occupa-

tion of a marginal status and the development of marginal personality characteristics. In a study of eighty-four Chippewa Indian children from northern Wisconsin, they tested the hypothesis that marginal personality traits are significantly correlated with degree of identification with the dominant group and with the degree of resistance to acceptance by the dominant group. Marginal personality characteristics were measured by a personality inventory. Degree of identification with the dominant white group was measured through interview questions on self identification, associational preferences and aspirations, and acceptance of Indian ideas, beliefs and practices. Degree of rejection was measured indirectly by questioning white respondents about the Indian-like appearance of each subject.

A striking finding was that the five groups all showed a moderately high incidence of marginal personality characteristics. Kerckhoff and McCormick suggest that the combination of the general permeability of the barrier between the white and Indian groups plus the disorganized state of the Indian group has lead to a degree of white identification in all the subjects (Kerckhoff and McCormick 1955: 55).

The two main findings were (1) identification with the white group was strongest among those subjects least Indianlike in appearance, and (2) marginal personality traits were most evident among those subjects who

identified with the dominant white group but were not accepted by it because of their more marked Indian appearance.

Another important facet of personality adjustment is suggested by Chance (1965) who used the Cornell Medical Index questionnaire (CMI) as an instrument to measure the personality adjustment of Eskimos at Kaktovik. His findings support the proposition that the relations between degree of Western identification and knowledge and understanding of Western society are important factors in personality adjustment to cross-cultural contact.

In summary, these studies indicate a strong persistence of aboriginal characteristics. A number of these characteristics are widely enough shared to be regarded as "modal tendencies." These are undergoing modification due to culture change, and a typology of "reaction types" of Indian adolescents would include "marginal type," "native type," "reaffirmative-native type," "deviant type," and "acculturated type." There appears to be two modal points in acculturation as influencing personality adjustment. At first, aspects of the host culture are used in an imitative manner. In the second stage, values and behavior patterns of the host culture become part of the motivation system and self-identity. Problems of ethnic identity frequently become prominent at this stage. Personality adjustment is also

affected by such things as attitudes of the host group towards the assimilating one, and the degree of identification with the host group.

III. ATTITUDES TOWARD CULTURE CHANGE

The question of attitudes toward cultural change is, of course, central to any study of acculturation. This question is examined by looking at Indians' attitudes toward the Euro-Canadian pattern of life and the traditional Indian patterns of life, and their aspirations for the future.

Sheps (1970) investigated Indian youth's attitudes toward non-Indian patterns of life. He administered a questionnaire designed to test attitudes concerning school, family relationships, and the law to about ninety students from three Indian boarding schools, in Nevada, California and Arizona.

The data indicates that the majority of students showed agreement with the attitudes of non-Indian society. Sheps feels that this indicates that either these values are inherently universal enough so as to not differ from accepted Indian values or else the majority of Indian students tend to accept the society they now live in and desire to integrate into it.

Friesen and Lyon (1970) conducted a "depth interview" study in Southern Alberta of attitudes to

social change demonstrated by Indian people. Respondents included sixty Indians, from five bands; and thirty-seven non-Indians. The study found that although such aspects of Indian cultures as dances, stories, myths and societies still exist, these cultures seem to be disintegrating. The authors feel that unless some appropriate measures are taken by the individuals directly involved, governmental or outside group measures will be practically futile. If this be so, any attempts by the school to rejuvenate Indian cultures would be in vain.

The Indian respondents, for the most part, favored self-government, expressing dissatisfaction with present arrangements. Most felt that discrimination of Indians by non-Indians was practiced, particularly in areas such as prohibitory housing and lodging practices and in getting and holding a job.

In regard to the future cultural identity of Indian children, 65 per cent of the Indian respondents expressed a desire to have Indian children be "Indian," 22 per cent suggested they might function in "both worlds," 12 per cent felt they might become "like white men." Most endorsed the concept of higher education as essential for the modern Indian. About one-half thought college was preferable - only about 13 per cent suggested vocational education as a major objective for Indian youth.

In the areas of further training and inter-ethnic relationships, Zentner (1962, 1963a, 1963b, 1963c, 1964) conducted a questionnaire survey among Oregon and Alberta high school students. His sample included 52 Indians and 304 Whites from Oregon, and 115 Indians (Blood and Blackfoot) and 335 Whites from Southern Alberta.

The Indian students and their parents - judging from the perception of the students - were as interested and concerned about further training after high school as non-Indian students and their parents. The Indian population had a higher proportion of students reporting "a great deal" of parental pressure to think about going on to further training than the non-Indian population.

The issue of assimilation in Alberta was examined by looking at the three variables of prejudice, discrimination and conflict. Half of the Indians endorsed the proposition that the Indian is already accepted as an equal; the other half endorsed the proposition that no matter how the Indian behaves he is not acceptable as an equal. Significantly, only one-third of the non-Indians agreed that he is already accepted.

A clear majority of both groups were not in favor of full and unrestricted contact between members of the two ethnic communities. Less than half of the students in either group were in favor of the Indians leaving the reservations and competing on equal terms with Whites.

Only about one-fourth of the students in either population agreed with the proposition that Indians should try to behave like Whites. Over three-fourths of the Indians and one-half of the Whites felt that Indians should not try to act like Whites.

In the area of job aspirations, a study by Mary Symons Strong (1963) documents the effect of ethnicity on aspiration levels. In a study of the relationship between social class and levels of aspirations of Northern Alberta high school students, Strong found that the Indians and Metis in her sample had achievement orientation scores and occupational choices significantly lower than those of other students when compared by social class standing. She concluded that ethnicity makes some contributions to an outlook which does not facilitate upward social mobility in the case of students of Indian background. It may also be that these students are making a valid assessment of their situation.

Raymond Bean (1966) found a similar pattern in occupational aspirations in the Sault Ste. Marie area as did Knill and Davis (1963) in Northern Saskatchewan. However, Knill and Davis feel that these differences in occupational choices point up the realities of the class system in Northern Saskatchewan.

Possibly the most outstanding characteristic of the above studies is the vast range and diversity of

Indian attitudes toward culture change that they indicate. Other important findings are an interest in higher education, some evidence of cultural disintegration, and a desire to "remain Indian."

IV. INDIAN URBAN ADJUSTMENT

The question of Indian urban adjustment is a central aspect of the research problem. It would appear that, to date, little research has been done to document the processes involved. One such investigation, by Mark Nagler (1970), is a two-year study in Toronto. Using the technique of participant observation, and conducting 150 interviews, he found that among the many factors responsible for the migration of Indians to the city, economic factors constituted a prime one. Many reserves cannot provide their inhabitants with satisfactory standards of living because of their restricted size, depletion of their resources, or because of the rising expectations of the Indian. These problems have been accentuated by a rapid increase in reserve population.

The two other main reasons for urban migration were to obtain education, and for excitement - to have a good time. In some cases, Indians moved to Toronto after attempting to settle in smaller cities. Nagler feels that their experience indicates that racial identification can make acceptance of the Indian difficult in smaller

urban communities, but that the anonymity of larger urban centers permits him to function relatively free from the restrictions of racial prejudice. Overt discrimination in employment, for example, appears to be more prevalent in smaller concerns, particularly in smaller communities.

Their cultural backgrounds give Indians value systems which are often at variance with the value system and expectations of urban society. As a result, they are torn between their own value systems and those urged upon them by representatives of non-Indian society:

. . . Indians recently arrived in the city are so confused by the conflict between the teachings of their elders and those of the white man, that they tend to set aside the whole problem of morality (in the widest sense) as meaningless, or insoluble. The systems of sanctions which formerly governed their behavior are no longer in force, and they must resort to pure expediency in contending with the exigencies of immediate situations. (Nagler 1970: 25)

The majority of Indians in the city possess inferior levels of literacy and education. A large percentage have not even completed an elementary education. Consequently, most can qualify only for semi-skilled or unskilled positions. Higher levels of education are possessed by those who were raised in, or adjacent to, cities. Those who receive vocational training, and who are thus able to get white collar and skilled blue collar positions, are also urban influenced; those who pursue unskilled employment tend to come from rural reserve

surroundings.

Relatively few Indians take advantage of any of the government training assistance programs. Of those who do, most participate in the program to train or re-train unskilled or unemployed workers. However, it appears that the training programs are not suitable for the individuals concerned, and that many Indians are unable to cope with a classroom situation in which they are surrounded by white students and impersonal instructors.

Although studies such as that by the Spindlers indicate that they may share certain psychological characteristics, Indians do not share a common ethnic or cultural base. This lack of a bond of commonality has left Indians in the city relatively unorganized, with no permanent organization to function in social, economic, political or religious areas. This circumstance has hindered the development of leadership and left the Indians with no established means of communicating or relating their inhibitions and frustrations. On the other hand, Indians can return to their reserves with a minimum of effort and expense. Strong ties with home reserves are usually maintained, enabling the reserve to continue to act as a social and cultural center for many urban Indians.

In summary, Nagler found that Indians migrate to the city for three main reasons: because of economic factors, to obtain an education, or for excitement. In

the city they are often caught between value systems which are at variance. The result is often a resort to pure expediency. Inferior levels of literacy and education qualify them only for semi-skilled or unskilled positions. Those few who utilize government training programs often find them unsuitable.

Indians in the city lack a bond of commonality and an established means of communicating their frustrations. They are, however, able to maintain strong ties with home reserves.

V. THE EXPERIENCES OF THE INDIAN CHILD IN SCHOOL

Fundamental to the research problem are the experiences of the Indian child in school. This section examines pertinent research literature in order to identify and depict some of these experiences.

The experience of the Indian child in the school system has been documented in many studies. One of the more extensive studies conducted specifically in Indian education is that of Wax, Wax, and Dumont (1964), who studied the relatively low academic achievement of Indians. The setting was the elementary schools on the Pine Ridge Reservation of the Sioux Indian in South Dakota.

The Wax team hypothesized that the most important issue would be the attitude of the parents and their

children toward acquisition of "general American" knowledge. Deciding to focus equally on teachers, pupils and parents, they set up three basic "theories" for investigation. Paraphrased, these are (1) cultural disharmony; (2) lack of motive/unappealing curriculum; and (3) preservation of identity. The first suggests that there is cultural disharmony between the Indian student and the school: to the pupil the school's atmosphere is painful, incomprehensible, even immoral; to the teacher the student is often undisciplined, unmotivated, even immoral. The second "theory" suggests that the ideas of Indian people about desirable or possible careers are often at odds with those of educators. The likely result is dropouts. The third "theory" suggests that their Indian identity is very valuable to conservative Indians. If they perceive of education as a means to change Indian students into whites, its rejection is likely.

The basic research technique was that of quasi-participation or full participation, augmented by formal interviews. Seventy-two classes in sixteen schools were observed. Forty-seven unstructured interviews and forty-eight formal interviews were conducted along with about one hundred shorter recorded episodes. Twenty-two teachers were interviewed, ten using the interview schedule. Unstructured interviews were held with eighteen administrators. One hundred seventy-three Sioux young people were either

interviewed or given a sentence-completion schedule.

The prime factor in the problem of education on the Pine Ridge reservation was found to be isolation - lack of communication, and social distance. The community as a whole is isolated. School personnel and the community isolate themselves from each other. The school isolates the children from their elders who can control them. When, in addition, the teacher and her pupils reject each other, the result is unchecked peer influence. The nature of this peer society and the individual student's place within it become the greatest factor in his school performance.

The authors conclude by returning to their original three "theories." Beginning with the second, covering the lack of motive, they find it partially confirmed. Sioux parents and their children generally see education as the key to vocational success, so conscientious parents encourage their children to proceed as far as they can. However, there is a lack of coherence between the school curriculum and vocational opportunities, particularly for boys.

In regard to the third "theory," concerning preservation of identity, the Wax team found that Sioux adults take a pragmatic view of education, viewing it as qualifying them for better employment. They see their

Indianness as intrinsic, not to be altered by the school.

In discussing "theory" one, concerning cultural disharmony, the Wax team contend that Sioux children do like school - the conflict is not between White and Indian values, but between the school and Indian peer society.

This contention would seem to be contradicted by Wolcott (1962), who conducted a case study of a contemporary Kwakiutl village and its school. In this study, Wolcott investigates the social environment from which the school draws its pupils and the interaction of the pupils with the teachers and the learning tasks by him and the curriculum. He concludes that:

. . . The study illustrates a situation in which two educational systems, one essentially informal, indigenous and present-oriented, confront the children, their parents and the appointed teachers with antithetical goals and a great range of real and potential conflicts. The teachers represent a formal educational system whose mission is to minimize traditional Indian culture. (Wolcott 1962: viii)

The difference in value system implied by Wolcott was investigated by L. R. Gue (1967), who administered a modified form of the Kluckhohn value inventory to teachers of the Northland School Division and to Cree parents and students at Wabasca and Desmarais in Northern Alberta. Gue found that very important differences in value orientations do exist between teachers and Indian parents. Further, although pupils disagreed with parents on seven items,

they agreed with teachers on only three of these, all of which lay in the time area. The conclusion was that whatever shifting of values may be occurring among the Indian pupils is not very pronounced and lies in one of the less critical areas of cultural transition. It seems clear that Indian parents are considerably more successful in enculturating their children than are the schools in acculturating the same children towards the dominant society.

This potential for conflict is further shown by A. D. Fisher (1967), who documents the fallacy in the supposition that education is the key to economic and social advancement for disadvantaged people. He holds that this thesis is only partially true, if at all, and thus works hardship on the disadvantaged and distorts the process of social change.

Fisher indicates the steady improvement in the educational attainments of Alberta's Indians. Comparing these figures with those of rising welfare costs and high unemployment among Indian youth, he shows that there is not a corresponding economic advance. Going on to compare the manpower development of Alberta Indians with that of various developing nations, he shows that the product of Indian education is meagre; by comparison underdeveloped nations are producing many more skilled and professional people. He concludes that compulsory

education for the Indian is in large measure a destructive failure; and that a number of other variables, cultural, social and economic, are relevant to both education and social progress.

In a later study, Fisher (1969) cites studies to indicate that the Canadian Indian fails to take advantage of the schooling available to him, and then fails to use whatever education he receives once his schooling is over. To explain these failures, Fisher redefines the school as an ideological rite of passage - as a series of rites signifying separation from, transition through, and incorporation into culturally recognized statuses and roles - reflecting the values of North American society and preparing students for urban, industrialized middle-class society. However, this rite of passage may be inappropriate to members of society that differ from those of North American middle-class society. This is what seems to be the case for the Indian student. Thus, Fisher concludes:

the expanded educational opportunities for Canadian Indians are not really opportunities at all. For what the school offers is an irrelevant set of values and training. Moreover, the school often comes into direct conflict with certain moral and cultural values of the student. Thus, it is the educational system that fails the student and not the student who fails the system. In trying to be a good and successful Indian, the Indian student must often be a bad and unsuccessful student. (Fisher 1969: 33)

An example of the effect of the school can have on the individual is provided by King (1967), who did a study of an isolated, church-managed school for Indian children at Mopass in the Yukon. He stresses the devastating effects of acculturative forces upon northern Athapaskan cultures and notes that although identifiable persistences of native culture are still present, a regionalized "culture of poverty" is more valid of this population than is any idealized cultural baseline. A problem of identity results from the willing and at first comparatively swift renunciation of aboriginal cultural criteria, leaving hardly any substantially autonomous or distinctive bases to fall back on. Racist disdain and discrimination by the dominant "whiteman" are features of a caste-like subordination and marginality.

A withering description of school operation is provided:

With a single exception, the operation of the school . . . bears a striking resemblance to a well-run stock ranch or dairy farm in which valued animals are carefully nurtured. General health, proper nutrition, shelter and physical care are efficiently and adequately provided. The children are moved, fed, cared for, and rested by a rotating crew of overseers who condition the herd to respond to sets of signals. Certain individual characteristics and idiosyncrasies stand out for the overseer and must be dealt with as they appear but these phenomena are usually assumed to be inherent in the children without antecedent, to be dealt with by the herder on the spot at his discretion and to be forgotten when the child

is no longer his responsibility.

The single exception is the manner of record keeping. The system of records . . . would be unacceptable in any well-run stock farm. (King 1967: 55-56)

All of the members of the school adult population are deviant or marginal to the society of which they are agents. For example, with the exception of one or two teachers, they fit into one of three general categories: (1) relatively recent immigrants from elsewhere in the Commonwealth; (2) rural Canadians from low socio-economic backgrounds; (3) Yukon Indians. A common attitude is ignorance of the Indians, combined with a willingness to offer snap judgments, usually unfavourable, about basic Indian motivations or character. As end members of huge bureaucratic organizations, they validate their identities by effective job performance in terms of these bureaucracies. A result is that the criteria for effective job performance are based on adult relationships rather than on relationships with the children. Students become little more than components to be manipulated in performance of the job.

To function in this environment the Indian children adopt the mechanism of creating a school self that functions only within the school boundaries. "Thus," King concludes:

long before the end of experiences at the residential school, the fundamental barriers

between Whiteman and Indian are firmly developed not so much by a conscious rejection on the part of the Whiteman as by a conscious rejection on the part of the Indian child. The sterile shallowness of the adult model presented by the school Whiteman serves only to enhance - and probably romanticize - memories of attachments in the child's primary family group and to affirm a conviction prevalent among the present adult Indian generation that Indians must strive to maintain an identity separate from Whiteman. (King 1967: 88)

Another example of Indian student adaptation is provided by Abu-Laban (1965, 1966), who studied the acculturative change of Indian students in a desegregated Edmonton public school. He conducted interviews with ninety-five students, about half of whom constituted the Indian population of the school; the remainder were matched with the Indian subjects by stratified random sample.

One finding was that the likes and dislikes of the white students were oriented toward their own group, while the likes of the Indians were oriented towards the in-group and their dislikes were directed toward the out-group. This finding suggests that a majority of the Indian students derived their gratification from their membership group but derived their frustrations from the non-membership group. No serious feelings of intolerance were evidenced by either group.

Regarding ethnic identification, about 60 per

cent of the Indian students identified with their ethnic group; only 7 per cent of the non-Indians identified with either the larger Canadian society or with any subgroup.

No major differences were discovered between Indians and non-Indians in the number or kind of organizations to which they belonged.

In regard to future plans, none of the Indian students preferred to work or live on reservations after they finished school. About two-thirds selected a large city as a desired place of residence.

In summary, these studies indicate that the experience of the Indian student in school is, in large measure, a negative one. Isolation between the school and its community, the child and his elders, and the student and his teachers can result in unchecked peer influence. Conflict may develop between the peer society and the school, or between opposing value systems. There is a lack of coherence between the curriculum and vocational opportunities. The common belief that education is the key to economic and social success is, to large degree, a fallacy. What the school offers is an irrelevant set of values and training, and compulsory education for Indians has been a destructive failure.

VI. SUMMARY

In this chapter, literature related to the problem has been reviewed. The research findings were found to be extremely diverse and sometimes contradictory. Material pertinent to acculturation theory was reviewed primarily in three sections: attitudes toward, processes of, and personality adjustment to culture change.

Attitudes toward culture change were found to be extremely diverse. Some commonality was found in an interest in higher education, some evidence of cultural disintegration, and a desire to "remain Indian."

The processes of directed culture change were found to be affected by the relative statuses of groups involved, the amount and result of previous change by the subordinate group, and the degree to which goals associated with change by the subordinate group could be realized. Characteristics of the subordinate group such as its social organization, its predisposition toward change, and the early experiences of its members in the nuclear family were also found to influence these processes.

A strong persistence of aboriginal characteristics was found, some widely enough shared to be regarded as "modal tendencies." These were undergoing change, and a typology of "reaction types" included five categories.

There appeared to be two modal points in personality adjustment to acculturation. At first, aspects of the host culture are merely imitated. In the second stage, its values and behavior patterns become part of the motivation system and self-identity of subordinate group members. Problems of identity become frequent at this point. Personality adjustment was also found to be affected by degree of identification with the host group and the attitudes of the host group towards the acculturating one.

The experiences of the Indian child in the school were found to be largely destructive. What the school offers is an irrelevant set of values and training. Thus the school often fails the Indian child.

In brief, literature related to the problem was found to be extremely diverse and sometimes contradictory. Emphasis was placed on the examination of personality adjustment to culture change, and problems of the Indian student in the school system. Other areas of investigation were those of processes of culture change, attitudes toward culture change, and Indian urban adjustment.

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CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH PROCEDURES

In this chapter, the instrumentation, the sample, and the data collection are discussed.

I. INSTRUMENTATION

The depth interview was selected as the method of data collection. The principal reason for this choice was that the research was primarily interested in feelings, attitudes and personal information which seemed not as readily available through other means. The advantages of the use of the interview technique in this type of situation have been noted by such researchers as Kahn and Cannell, and Selltiz et al.:

. . . If the focal data for a research project are the attitudes and perceptions of individuals, the most direct and often the most fruitful approach is to ask the individuals themselves. (Kahn and Cannell 1953: 330)

The interview is the most appropriate technique for revealing information about complex, emotionally laden subjects or for probing the sentiments that may underlie an expressed opinion. (Selltiz et al. 1966: 242)

A second reason for selection of the depth interview was that it circumvents many of the theoretical problems which arise in the use of such methods as scales, questionnaires, etc. As well, such methods often are not valid for subjects who are from different cultures and

who might have language problems. The degree of flexibility allowed by the depth interview, which permits deep probing and clarification, was felt to be an important strength in the research.

A third reason for selection of the depth interview was pragmatic. Practical considerations such as the political climate make large scale research with Canadian native people very difficult at the present time.

Development of the interview guide began with intensive study of the problem area by means of extensive reading combined with consultation with native people, and people who worked with native people. A tentative interview guide was then set up, drawing somewhat on questions used in instruments used by Hawthorn (1967), Graham and Taylor (1969), and Sheps (1970). This guide was designed to direct areas of examination in the interview rather than to indicate specific questions. It was primarily intended to elicit responses concerning the perceptions of native students of their experiences in the city and at school, and of their tribal cultures and their relationships to these cultures.

The format of the interview was designed to enable the gathering of basic general information first. More difficult topics related to more intimate information and having a greater emotional and possibly threatening quality were placed near the end of the guide so that

hopefully this information would be sought at a time when rapport was well established. This technique is suggested by Selltiz et al.:

Probably the best way to begin is to outline or list topics for the questionnaire, consider carefully what is likely to be the best sequence of topics (not the logical sequence but the best psychological sequence from the standpoint of the respondent), and then write the questions. (Selltiz et al. 1966: 549)

Within each topic, questions were generally arranged in a "funnel sequence." According to Kahn and Cannell, "The term [funnel sequence] refers to a procedure of asking the most general or unrestricted questions in an area first, and following it with successively more restricted questions." (Kahn and Cannell 1957: 158-9) A strength of this technique is that it does not establish a restricting frame of reference for the respondent, but allows him great freedom in discussing the topic (cf. Gorden 1969: 268).

The questions themselves were designed to be largely open-ended. This style of question has important advantages for this type of research:

Open-ended questions are flexible; they have possibilities of depth; they enable the interviewer to ascertain a respondent's lack of knowledge, to detect ambiguity, to encourage cooperation and achieve rapport and to make better estimates of respondents' true intentions, beliefs and attitudes. (Kerlinger 1967: 471)

After the tentative interview guide was drawn up, questions on it were carefully examined with the

assistance of three people who had worked with native students as school or dormitory personnel. Main reasons for this scrutiny were to remove ambiguities and to eliminate questions which respondents might find offensive. The instrument was modified in light of the results of this examination.

To check further the suitability of the guide, it was then pilot-tested in an interview with a native university student. Additional modifications were then made in view of his responses, his reactions and his recommendations. The further refined instrument was then tested in a second pilot interview, with a native high school student. After careful examination of the results of this interview by means of content analysis, a final draft of the interview guide was drawn up in close consultation with the above-mentioned native university student. The end form of the instrument appears in the appendix.

II. THE SAMPLE

Practical considerations precluded the selection of a random sample. Instead, possible subjects were suggested to the researcher by such people as Indian Affairs personnel, teachers, former dormitory supervisors, and other respondents. To this degree, potential subjects were selected on the basis of their availability to the

researcher. This method is referred to by Selltiz et al. as accidental sampling:

In accidental sampling, one simply reaches out and takes the cases that fall to hand (Selltiz et al. 1966: 516)

From descriptions provided by those who suggested them, respondents were selected from within this group in an effort to make their experiences as typical of those of the larger population as possible, for, as Selltiz et al. suggest:

Although a random sample of practioners may not be of value in an experience survey, it is nevertheless important to select respondents so as to ensure a representation of different types of experience. (Selltiz et al. 1966: 56)

In order to ensure this representation of different types of experience, the following criteria were employed in the selection of the sample:

1. Sex - both males and females were to be included.
2. Age - a representation of usual high school ages, i.e., from 14 to 21 was to be included.
3. School Grades - Grades X to XII were to be included.
4. Local origin - a representation from as many native communities in Alberta as possible was desired.
5. Linguistic background - as wide as possible a variation in native linguistic backgrounds was desired.
6. Tribal ancestry - as wide as possible a variety of tribal ancestries was to be included.

7. Amount of experience in urban schools - as wide a variation as possible in time spent in urban schools was to be included.

Some idea of the variety of experiences represented becomes apparent even in a cursory examination of the sample. It consisted of eight female and five male native high school students. They attended two public high schools, one separate high school, and one private secondary school, all urban. Eleven had attended at least one other urban school. The time they had spent in urban schools ranged from a few months to seven years. Seven were returned dropouts. Nine had learned English at school. Their ages were from fifteen to twenty-one, their school grades were from ten to twelve. Their ancestry included Ojibwa; Peigan; Slavey; Chipewyan; and Cree, including Metis. Their homes included Assumption, Fort Chipewyan, Sucker Creek, Edmonton, Hobbema and Brockett, all in Alberta. Additional information about the sample is contained in Tables III:1 to III:7.

It was felt that a sample size of thirteen would be adequate because of the exploratory and descriptive nature of the research. Practical considerations were also factors: time was an important consideration; and it was, for a variety of reasons, very difficult to do research with large numbers of Canadian native people.

TABLE 3.1

HOMES OF RESPONDENTS

Home	Number of Respondents
Assumption	3
Brockett	2
Edmonton	1
Fort Chipewyan	5
Hobbema	1
Sucker Creek	1

TABLE 3.2

TRIBAL ANCESTRY OF RESPONDENTS

Ancestry	Number of Respondents
Chipewyan	1
Cree	6
Ojibwa	1
Peigan	2
Slavey	3

TABLE 3.3

NATIVE LANGUAGES SPOKEN BY RESPONDENTS

Language	Number of Respondents
Blackfoot	2
Chipewyan	1
Cree	5
Ojibwa	1
Slavey	3
None	3

TABLE 3.4

AGES OF RESPONDENTS

Age	Number of Respondents
15	1
16	0
17	3
18	2
19	4
20	2
21	1
Mean Age	18.4

TABLE 3.5

ACADEMIC GRADE LEVELS OF RESPONDENTS

Grade	Number of Respondents
10	2
11	6
12	5
Mean Grade	11.2

TABLE 3.6

AMOUNT OF TIME SPENT IN URBAN SCHOOLS
BY RESPONDENTS

No. of Years	Number of Respondents
1	1
1 1/2	2
2	3
2 1/2	1
3	3
4	0
5	2
6	0
7	1
Mean time spent	3 years

TABLE 3.7

CAREER PLANS OF RESPONDENTS

Position	Number of Respondents	Sex
Registered Nurse	3	F
Native Field Worker	2	M
Beautician	1	F
Biologist	1	M
Business Administrator	1	M
Social Worker	1	F
Tailor	1	F
Teacher	1	F
Welder	1	M
Undecided	1	F

Precedent of this type of intensive study of a small, non-random group has been well established in such well-known studies as Joseph Kahl's "Educational Aspirations of 'Common Man' Boys," reported in the Harvard Educational Review (1953), Edgar Friedenberg's The Vanishing Adolescent (1962), Jules Henry's Culture Against Man (1965) and Elliot Liebow's Tally's Corner (1967), as well as by such noted researchers as Piaget, Whyte and Merton. Although no claims can be made as to the representativeness of the sample, it was felt that the research findings of the subject's experiences and perceptions might be to a greater degree typical of a much larger population than the small size and non-random nature of the sample might suggest. One reason for this assumption is that the subjects do of course share many important commonalities with members of a larger population. They are subjects of the processes of directed culture change; they are Indians who attend Euro-Canadian schools; they have come from rural areas to attend urban schools; they have been subjected to whatever racism is institutionalized in the Canadian social system; etc. A second reason is the variety of sources used to gather informants. A third reason is the diversity and range of experiences represented. This diversity is so great as to suggest a bias in favor of variety; if this be so, commonalities in experience and perception acquire added significance. A fourth reason is that the researcher

found no indication that members of the sample were in any way unique or distinctive from other native students attending urban high schools. The opposite would seem to be true. However, the actual extent of generalizability can only be ascertained by further study. It may be that in a study such as the present, in which the chief aims are to explore and describe types of perception and experience as well as to indicate possible direction for further research on a more extensive scale, that limitations such as those set forth in the foregoing are not highly significant.

III. DATA COLLECTION

Interviews to collect data were conducted in March and April of 1971. Appointments were made by telephone and each respondent was given a choice of interview location. About half selected their place of residence; the other half were interviewed in the researcher's home. These interviews were conducted in private. Before each began, the researcher attempted to establish an atmosphere of trust and rapport. Each respondent was informed of the purpose of the interview and strict confidentiality of everything said was assured.

Each interview was conducted as informally as possible in an attempt to put the interviewee at ease. Insofar as possible the interview was respondent-directed.

The interview guide was employed to indicate discussion areas rather than to direct specific questions. However, an effort was made to ensure that all subject areas suggested by the instrument were discussed, probed and clarified. Time to do this varied from about one to over two hours.

Interviews were electronically recorded. This did not seem to inhibit the respondents and all appeared to cooperate fully. Most expressed interest in the questions asked and several continued the discussion after the formal interview was concluded, sometimes to the point that the discourse had to be terminated by the researcher.

A careful post-analysis of each interview was made by the researcher before attempting another. This was done to analyze and improve strategies, techniques and tactics as well as to check the adequacy of the information obtained. This enabled the researcher to improve his interviewing skills considerably.

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CHAPTER FOUR

ORGANIZATION AND ANALYSIS OF DATA

As noted by such researchers as Wiseman and Aron, ". . . the major disadvantage of depth interviewing is the difficulty of quantifying - or even organizing - data. . . ." (Wiseman and Aron 1970:31). In an effort to overcome this disadvantage, the theory of reference group alienation, mobility and acculturation developed by Gerald D. Berreman was used as a framework for the presentation and analysis of data. This theory was selected because of the diverse theories of acculturation examined by the investigator, it seemed to fit most closely the collected data. The first section of this chapter sets out Berreman's theory. The second section elaborates on the theory by discussing the concepts underlying it. The third section describes the analysis of data.

I. BERREMAN'S THEORY OF REFERENCE GROUP ALIENATION, MOBILITY AND ACCULTURATION

Berreman draws on the work of Linton, Merton and Kitt, Merton, Bruner, Sherif and Sherif, and others to derive his theory, which he uses to analyze the behavior of Aleuts of Nikolski, Alaska. He suggests that in situations of acculturation characterized by "directed"

culture change, i.e., when one group of people have become so dominant as to undermine or replace the way of life of the other group, members of the subordinate group come to value positively many of the norms of the dominant group, with subsequent alterations in their definitions of the situation in which they live and especially in their self definitions. These alterations lead to changes in attitudes, ideals, values and behavior (cf. Bruner 1956).

In this type of situation, i.e., when a person's attitudes and behavior are influenced by a set of norms which he assumes to be held by others, these others constitute for him a reference group. "The significant thing about a reference group is, in fact, that its norms provide frames of reference which actually influence the attitudes and behavior of a person" (Newcomb 1950: 225; quoted by Berreman 1964: 233). The individual may have any number of reference groups, any particular one of which he may or may not be a member. If he is a member, that group is for him a membership group. A membership group need not be an actual group; attitudes and behavior may also be oriented to individuals, collectivities, fictitious or extinct sets of norms, norms held by fictitious or extinct groups, etc. (cf. Merton 1968: 356 ff.; Sherif and Sherif 1969: 418-419).

Berreman uses definitions established by Ralph Turner to distinguish between different kinds of reference

groups. The "identification group" is ". . . the source of the individual's major perspectives and values. . . . [It] is the source of values, since the individual takes the role of a member while adopting the member's standpoint as his own" (Turner 1956: 328). The "standpoint" is "not, of course, something apart from the role. It is the core of the role" (Turner 1956: 319), and is central to values, attitudes and behavior.

There are also "valuation groups." These "acquire value to the individual because the standpoint of his identification groups designates them as points of reference. . . . The individual compares himself with certain groups or notes the impression he is making on them or in some way takes account of them" (Turner 1956: 328). He does not adopt their standpoint. This valuation can be either positive or negative.

Even though the dominant group comes to constitute a positive reference group for them, most members of the subordinate group remain loyal to their group so long as it remains a functional entity, capable of communicating its norms to its members, and of rewarding and exercising control over them. As a part of this loyalty; if social distance is maintained by the dominant, positively valued group; members of the subordinate group characteristically express alienation from the positively valued group (cf. Coser 1956: 33 ff). This type of

reference group alienation Berreman refers to as "valuation group alienation" (Berreman 1964: 234). Strong social pressures to encourage this behavior are likely (cf. Merton and Kitt 1950: 94).

A few individuals are likely to fail to conform to this pattern, and to identify fully with the dominant group. Factors in determining who will identify with the alien group include relative dissatisfaction with the membership group, degree of perceived equivalence to the alien group, perceived opportunities for rewards from the alien group and for mobility into it, and relative effectiveness of communication of group norms to the individual member.

When the individuals do identify fully with the dominant group, this shift of identity is likely to be perceived by the membership group as repudiation, and to elicit hostile responses. This in turn contributes to estrangement. "Once initiated, this process seems to move toward a cumulative detachment from the group, in terms of attitudes and values as well as in terms of social relations" (Merton and Kitt 1950: 93-94; quoted by Berreman 1964: 237). Thus, as an individual moves away from the norms of his membership group to live by those of his identification group, he becomes increasingly alienated from his erstwhile membership group. This membership acquires negative valuation for him. This is

another kind of reference group alienation. Depending largely upon the results of mobility striving, and therefore upon the nature of the contact situation, the stage of reference group alienation is likely eventually to pass. Others may follow the lead of the mobile deviants if they perceive that mobility aspirations can be achieved. Ultimately, the dominant group may become an identification group for the entire subordinate group. If so and if they are accepted by the dominant group, rapid and orderly change may occur, with assimilation the likely result. Emigration may be required to achieve this result; if so it usually occurs on an individual basis.

If, however, mobility aspirations cannot be realized, stress is likely to follow. The results of this stress depend upon the nature of the reference group behavior accompanying it. If mobility aspirations are blocked after general anticipatory socialization, i.e., after members of the subordinate group have generally accepted the dominant group as an identification group, their own group tends to be no longer viable (cf. Merton and Kitt 1950: 87-89). Anomie results, accompanied by such things as hopelessness, escapism, depopulation and deviant behavior.

These individuals who do identify with a non-membership group experience marginality. The entire group may be marginal to the dominant group insofar as

they adopt it as a positive valuation group but remain alienated from it.

If the subordinate group has generally only adopted the dominant group as a positive valuation group while still expressing alienation from it, the frustration of mobility aspirations results in a feeling of relative, if not absolute, deprivation. Out-group alienation and in-group loyalty-in-the-face-of-adversity build up. People seek the advantages which accrue to the dominant group but as they wish to avoid rejection by their membership group, they maintain distance from the dominant group. Nativistic or nationalistic revitalization movements will frequently occur, ranging from the spectacular down to relatively inconspicuous and unaggressive ethnocentrism.

II. CONCEPTS UNDERLYING THE THEORY

Underpinning and necessary to an understanding of Berreman's theory are various concepts drawn from social psychology, sociology, and anthropology. These would include the concepts of directed culture change, reference group, relative deprivation, anticipatory socialization, marginal man and revitalization movements. Discussion of these follows.

Directed Culture Change

The concept of directed culture change was developed by Ralph Linton in 1940. He defines it as follows:

Directed culture change will be taken to refer to those situations in which one of the groups in contact interferes actively and purposively with the culture of the other. This interference may take the form of stimulating the acceptance of new culture elements, inhibiting the exercise of preexisting culture patterns or, as seems to be most frequently the case, doing both simultaneously. (Linton 1940: 502)

Linton holds that the process of directed culture change can only operate in those situations in which there is dominance and submission. He contrasts this process with that of social-cultural fusion, in which two originally distinct homogeneous cultures and societies fuse to produce a single homogeneous culture and society (Linton 1940: 502).

Spicer gives two criteria for distinguishing between directed and non-directed contact:

- (1) One condition for directed contact exists if definite sanctions, whether of a political, economic, supernatural, or moral nature, are regularly brought to bear by members of one society on another.
- (2) A second necessary condition exists if members of the society applying the sanctions are interested in bringing about changes in the behavior of members of the other society. (Spicer 1961: 518-21)

Reference Group

The reference group concept has been much defined and elaborated since its introduction and first use by Hyman in 1942. It has been used considerably in sociological and socio-psychological writings since that time (e.g. Merton and Kitt 1950; Turner 1956; Sherif and Sherif 1956: 175-178; Shibutani 1961: 249-280; Sherif and Sherif 1964; Merton 1968: 279-440; Sherif and Sherif 1969: 417-457). However, little explicit use of it has been made in anthropology.

A widely adopted definition of the reference group concept is that of Sherif and Sherif, first formulated in 1948: "Reference groups are those groups to which the individual relates himself as a member or aspires to relate himself psychologically" (1949: 418).

The outlines of reference group theory are given in Merton's 1950 formulation: "In general . . . reference group theory aims to systematize the determinants and consequences of those processes of evaluations and appraisal in which the individual takes the values or standards of other individuals and groups as a comparative frame of reference" (Merton and Kitt 1950: 50-51).

Relative Deprivation

Stouffer and his associates were led to the concepts of relative deprivation when in their study, The

American Soldier, they confronted the apparent contradictions between satisfaction or deprivation and the objective situations among soldiers. Synthesized and presented in systematic form by Merton and Kitt (1950), the concept expresses the social-psychological principal that evaluation of one's well-being and one's success or failure is not made in absolute terms, but relative to the possessions, privileges and positions of others (Sherif and Sherif 1969: 557). Expressed differently, it leads to the hypothesis that self-appraisals depend upon people's comparison of their own situations with those of other people perceived as being comparable to themselves (Merton 1968: 40).

Anticipatory Socialization

Anticipatory socialization is another of Merton's concepts. He holds that the key to mobility is found in the way persons relate themselves positively to groups outside their own. Through anticipatory socialization, individuals may take as a reference group a nonmembership group to which they aspire to belong, and begin to socialize themselves to what they perceive to be its norms. Lane and Ellis (1968: 9) develop the following temporal paradigm for anticipatory socialization: Out-group affiliative motive → outgroup social contact → social learning → social mobility. So long as the class system is relatively open, anticipatory socialization

serves to help the mobile individual to overcome the subcultural barriers confronting him and of easing his acceptance in the group to which he moves. However, as Merton notes:

. . . the same pattern of anticipatory socialization would be dysfunctional for the individual in a relatively closed social structure, where he would not find acceptance by the group to which he aspires and would probably lose acceptance, because of his out-group orientation, by the group to which he belongs. (Merton and Kitt 1950: 89)

Merton also notes that regardless of its effect on the individual, anticipatory socialization is:

. . . apparently dysfunctional for the solidarity of the group or stratum For allegiance to the contrasting mores of another group means defection from the mores of the in-group. (Merton and Kitt 1950: 89)

Marginal Man

The marginal man concept was first introduced in 1928 by Robert E. Parker in a study of inter-ethnic contacts. Elaborated by Everett Stonequist in 1937, the concept has since had extensive currency in sociological literature.

In the most general sense, the marginal man is an individual who lives on the margin between two groups which make incompatible demands upon him. The most frequent examples involve individuals from a minority group who are attracted by the values and rewards of the dominant group, but who are unable either to gain

acceptance in the dominant group or to break completely from the minority identification. Immigrants often find themselves in this position.

Merton considers marginality as a result of dysfunctional anticipatory socialization:

The marginal man patterns represent the special case in a relatively closed social system in which the members of one group take as a positive frame of reference the norms of a group from which they are excluded in principle. (Merton and Kitt 1950: 88)

The intensive involvement in two groups gives the marginal man a novel perspective, enabling him to view each group and its norms through the perspective of the other group. This can give him qualities of creativity not available to the culture bound. However, the marginal man also acquires a second set of characteristics:

These characteristics are the qualities which stem from the rootlessness, the isolation from intimate relationships, and the absence of clear standards to guide behavior which plague the marginal person. Inability to make decisions, hypersensitiveness, irritability, lack of ease in interpersonal relationships, inconsistency in behavior are among the characteristics noted. (Turner 1964: 6)

Park believed marginal men to be neurotic; however, it appears that many persons in marginal positions are able to come to terms with their ambiguous world without serious personality disorders (Shibutani and Kwan 1965: 356-357).

Revitalization Movements

This concept has been elaborated by A.F.C. Wallace (1956) who defines a revitalization movement as "a deliberate organized conscious effort by members of a society to construct a more satisfying culture" (Wallace 1956: 265).

According to Wallace, three conditions are necessary for the occurrence of revitalization movements: (1) the persons involved in the process must perceive their culture or some major areas of it as a system; (2) they must feel that this cultural system is unsatisfactory; and (3) they must innovate a new cultural system, specifying new relationships as well as, in some cases, new traits.

Wallace's process structure of revitalization, in cases where the process is completed, consists of five overlapping stages: (1) Steady State; (2) Period of Individual Stress; (3) Period of Culture Distortions; (4) Period of Revitalization; and (5) New Steady State (Wallace 1956: 268).¹

III. ANALYSIS

From Berreman's theory, four large, general,

¹For further elaboration, see Wallace 1956, or Wallace 1961.

relatively crude suppositions were generated. Under each supposition were grouped the data, in the form of types of expression, which seemed to be logically consistent with that supposition. The types of expression which seemed consistent with each supposition are as follows:

1. Supposition One: The dominant, Euro-Canadian group constitutes a positive valuation group for members of the native sub-group. The types of expression which seemed to be consistent with this supposition are as follows:
 - a. a desire to be accepted and respected by Euro-Canadians;
 - b. the judgment of sub-group members by reference to Euro-Canadian standards;
 - c. an indication that sub-group members' behavior is influenced by the norms of the dominant group;
 - d. a desire to succeed in the dominant society;
 - e. a valuation of formal education.
2. Supposition Two: Sub-group members experience valuation group alienation. Types of expression which appeared congruous are the following:
 - a. the feeling that the respondent does not understand "Whites";
 - b. a perception of differences between Euro-

Canadians and natives;

- i. a we-they dichotomy;
- c. a desire to return home if jobs are available;
- d. the wish to be at home;
- e. a resentment of Euro-Canadians;
- f. antipathy towards being incorporated into the dominant society;
- g. the feeling that "whites" do not understand natives as well as do other natives.

3. Supposition Three: Sub-group members perceive themselves as experiencing relative, if not absolute, deprivation. The following types of expression appeared to be consistent:

- a. it is harder if you are a native
 - i. to get a job;
 - ii. to go to school;
 - iii. to live in the city;
- b. natives are discriminated against
 - i. in general;
 - ii. as students
 - 1. by administrators and supervisors;
 - 2. by teachers;
 - 3. by other students;
 - 4. in terms of a biased curriculum;
 - iii. in terms of personal experience;

- c. natives suffer stereotyping by members of the dominant society;
 - d. natives suffer inferiority in status relative to the status of Euro-Canadians.
4. Supposition Four: Sub-group members identify with, and are committed to the norms of their membership group. The following types of expression seemed to fit this rubric:
- a. a pride in ancestry, ethnocentrism;
 - b. membership in native organization;
 - c. the reading of native newspapers;
 - d. a desire to spend free time with other natives;
 - e. the selection of friends mainly from the ranks of the sub-group;
 - f. a dislike for those natives who do not express valuation-group alienation;
 - g. the existence of social pressures for conformity to membership group norms
 - i. by other native students;
 - ii. by natives at home or in general
 - 1. old people;
 - 2. dropouts;
 - h. a desire to work for the native people;
 - i. a retention of traditional native beliefs;
 - j. a conscious effort to retain the traditional

native culture;

- k. a desire to have the traditional native language and/or culture taught in the schools.

A transcript of each interview was made by the researcher as soon as possible after the interview to ensure as high a degree of accuracy as possible. When all transcripts were complete, their content was coded according to the above coding schedule by the researcher, and then by a second coder as a reliability check. The coded data are presented in tabular form in Tables 5.1 to 5.4.

These coded data were used as one of the bases of analyses. However, the main method of analysis consisted of intensive examination and reexamination of the interview transcripts until strong overall impressions emerged. These impressions were then checked and rechecked against the data for validity. The result was a descriptive analysis presented in narrative form and relying heavily on direct quotations from respondents. This method of analysis is supported by Glaser and Strauss:

The analytic framework which emerges from the researcher's collection and scrutiny of qualitative data is equivalent to what he knows systematically about his own data

If there is only one fieldworker involved, it is he who knows what he knows about what he has studied and lived through. They are his perceptions, his personal experiences, and his own hard-won analyses. That fieldworker knows that he knows, not only because he's been there

in the field and because of his careful verification of hypotheses, but because "in his bones" he feels the worth of his final analysis. (Glaser and Strauss 1965: 8)

This analysis is presented in Chapter Five.

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CHAPTER FIVE

RESEARCH FINDINGS

This chapter provides a synthesis of the research findings. These data are organized into four sections according to suppositions generated from Berreman's theory. A further section provides additional findings concerning the respondents' experiences in the urban environment.

The research is concerned with the expressed perceptions of the respondents. Thus, to illustrate generally expressed perceptions, extensive use is made of direct quotations rather than of the researcher's description of perceptions. Because of the nature of the research most of the findings are derived from volunteered information, i.e., from what the respondents considered important enough to tell the researcher. As a result, findings reported are usually of substantive rather than statistical significance and are cumulatively rather than individually supportive. Support for each supposition is provided by the weight of evidence for it taken as a meaningful whole rather than by individual findings. The consequence is that the cumulative weight of findings provides a Gestalt of substantive significance crystallizing around the nucleus provided by the four suppositions. Additional support for the analysis given is provided in Tables 5.1 to 5.4, tabulations of the content of the interviews.

TABLE 5.1

NUMBERS OF CODED RESPONSES TO INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

RESPONSE TYPE 1: SUPPORT FOR SUPPOSITION 1.

		RESPONDENT													Total no. of Responses	Total no. of Respondents
		I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII		
Support Type	a	2	4	2	2		3	2			1	1			17	8
	b														0	0
	c	2	1	2	2	2	6	1	3	2	3	1	1		26	12
	d	5		2	2		3	1	1	1	2	1	1		19	10
	e	11	2	3	3	2	4	3	4	5	6	1	6	1		

Coding Scheme:

Supposition 1: The dominant, Euro-Canadian group constitutes a positive valuation group for members of the native sub-group. Supportive types of expression:

- a. a desire to be accepted and respected by Euro-Canadians.
- b. the judgment of sub-group members by reference to Euro-Canadian standards.
- c. An indication that sub-group members' behavior is influenced by the norms of the dominant group.
- d. a desire to succeed in the dominant society.
- e. a valuation of formal education.

TABLE 5.2

NUMBERS OF CODED RESPONSES TO INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

RESPONSE TYPE 2: SUPPORT FOR SUPPOSITION 2.

Support Type	RESPONDENT														Total no. of Responses	Total no. of Respondents
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII			
a										2				2	1	
b	10	19	22	8	7	16	8	9	10	21	9	9	1	149	13	
c	2	1								1	1	2		7	5	
d	2									2				4	2	
e	1													1	1	
f		1	1				3			1	1		1	8	6	
g	2	5	2		1	1	3	3		4	2	2	2	27	11	

Coding Scheme:

Supposition 2: Sub-group members experience valuation group alienation. Supportive types of expression:

- the feeling that the respondent does not understand "Whites."
- a perception of differences between Euro-Canadians and natives; a we-they dichotomy.
- a desire to return home if jobs are available.
- the wish to be at home.

- e. a resentment of Euro-Canadians.
- f. antipathy towards being incorporated into the dominant society.
- g. the feeling that "whites" do not understand natives as well as do other natives.

TABLE 5.3

NUMBERS OF CODED RESPONSES TO INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

RESPONSE TYPE 3: SUPPORT FOR SUPPOSITION 3.

	RESPONDENT													Total no. of Responses Sub. Grand Sub. Grand		
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	4	52	3
a			2	1			1							4	52	13
i			4		1						3	1		9		4
ii		4	3		2	6	5	2		3	1	1	5	32		10
iii	1	2	1						3					7		4
b														0	184	0
i	4	7	9	5	1	6	1	11	4	1	9	3	5	66		13
ii							1	2		6	3			12	118	4
1						2				1				3		2
2	2		6				2	1	2	4	8			25		7
3	10	9	3	2	3	4	8	7		5	11		1	63		11
4	1	4	4	1						1	4			15		6

Support Type

TABLE 5.3 (Continued)

	RESPONDENT												Total no. of Responses Sub. Grand Sub. Grand	
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV
iii		2	1				1			1			5	4
c	3			2	1	1	1	2	1			1	11	7
d	2	3	2	3	2						1		13	6

Coding Scheme:

Supposition 3: Sub-group members perceive themselves as experiencing relative, if not absolute, deprivation. Supportive types of expression:

a. it is harder if you are a native

i. to get a job.

ii. to go to school.

iii. to live in the city.

b. natives are discriminated against

i. in general.

- ii. as students.
 - 1. by administrators and supervisors.
 - 2. by teachers.
 - 3. by other students.
 - 4. in terms of a biased curriculum.
- iii. in terms of personal experience.
- c. natives suffer stereotyping by members of the dominant society.
- d. natives suffer inferiority in status relative to the status of Euro-Canadians.

TABLE 5.4

NUMBERS OF CODED RESPONSES TO INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

RESPONSE TYPE 4: SUPPORT FOR SUPPOSITION 4.

	RESPONDENT													Total no. of	
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	Responses Sub.	Total no. of Respondents Grand
a	8	7	16	10	13	13	15	16	7	27	21	8	9	170	13
b	3	1	3	2			3	4		2	7		2	27	9
c	1		1			1	1		1	4	5			14	7
d	3	1	2			1	3	4			1	1		16	8
e	9	7	3		1		2	3	4	4	4	3	1	41	11
f	1	4	1		1					9		3		19	6
g		7	2			7	3	6		12	3		1	41	8
i								1						1	1
ii	1	4	1	1	3	9		2				6		27	8
l	4								1			1	3	9	4

Support Type

TABLE 5.4 (Continued)

	RESPONDENT														Total no. of	
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV	Sub.	Grand
Support Type																
h	2	2							1				1		4	3
i			7				2				3				12	3
j	1		3		8	6	3	3	1		12		8		45	9
k			4	3			5		1			3	3		19	6
	1	1	1	2		3	2	1			3	2	2		18	10

Coding Scheme:

Supposition 4: Sub-group members identify with, and are committed to their membership group. Supportive types of expression:

- a pride in ancestry; ethnocentrism.
- membership in native organizations.
- the reading of native newspapers.
- a desire to spend free time with other natives.

- e. the selection of friends mainly from the ranks of the sub-group.
- f. a dislike for those natives who do not express valuation group alienation.
- g. the existance of social pressures for conformity to membership group norms.
 - i. by other students
 - ii. by natives at home or in general
 - 1. old people.
 - 2. dropouts.
- h. a desire to work for the native people.
- i. a retention of traditional native beliefs.
- j. a conscious effort to retain the traditional native culture.
- k. a desire to have the traditional native languages and/or cultures taught in the schools.

I. SUPPOSITION ONE: THE DOMINANT EURO-CANADIAN GROUP CONSTITUTES A POSITIVE VALUATION GROUP FOR MEMBERS OF THE NATIVE SUB-GROUP.

Berreman states that valuation groups

"acquire value to the individual because the standpoint of his identification group designates them as points of reference" so that "the individual compares himself with [these] groups or notes the impression he is making on them or in some other way takes account of them" without adopting their standpoint as his own. An individual may value any particular valuation group positively or negatively. (Berreman 1964: 233, quoting Turner 1956: 328).

As an example of positive valuation of a group Berreman cites the desire to be respected and accepted by members of the group. A second indication would be that the norms of the valuation group provide frames of reference which actually influence the attitudes and behavior of an individual. This would include the judgment of self by the standards of the valuation group.

Some support for the supposition is provided by the fact that eight respondents voiced a desire to be accepted and respected by Euro-Canadians, as in the following example:

R. We're not really trying to go against the other students. We want to be accepted for what we are.

I. And you see this as being different from what they are?

R. Yes. (III: 13)

This desire is further evidenced in that seven respondents belonged to a native youth club. A primary purpose for this organization was to gain the acceptance and respect of other students, as indicated in the following:

. . . [The purpose of the club] is to be recognized in the school, you know. Instead of always being in one corner To let them know that we're natives that we're around. (VII: 4)

. . . We're trying to help ourselves by having people notice us. If they notice us they'll sort of accept us more. (I: 23)

Respondents indicated that this desire for acceptance could influence natives' behavior:

You have to act white in the city because you don't get accepted otherwise. (IV: 4)

The white people think differently about things, but the Indians, if they don't go along with them, the white people sort of get mad and call them down. So you gotta learn to act like them and accept their ways. (I: 4)

"In Rome, do what the Romans do" In order to get along with people, you have to do things that they do. You have to be like them in a way, you know, to try to have something in common with them so you'll get along Well, what I mean, what you grow up with you just leave that at home back on the reserve. Come in the city and you're somebody else and you go back and you're an Indian again. (IV: 18)

Thus, some respondents reported that their behavior was influenced by the norms of the dominant group:

Like if I go into something like, I always think before I do something, "What will they [Euro-Canadians] think if I do this?"

you know, and "What if I do it wrong," you know, "what will they say or what will they think?" (X: 21)

Ten members of the group expressed a desire to succeed in the dominant society. Ten were also planning careers in it; of the exceptions, two hoped to become native field workers, and one wanted to do social work among native people. Statements such as the following were common:

They [natives] have to live in the world as it is now - you have to learn the things you need. (I: 15)

If you want to make it, you have to go in to the majority. (III: 28)

Respondents generally viewed education as the key to this success in the dominant society, as in the following examples:

In order to live in this white society, you need an education. (VIII: 12)

School now is a necessity, you know. I don't want to go to school, but I know I must, you know. It's different because technology's taking over most everything now. And we [natives] have to change, you know. (X: 22)

All respondents expressed a valuation of formal education. Great faith was placed by them in the ability of education to improve the lot of the native, both individually and collectively. Each of the seven respondents who had dropped out and then returned to school indicated that he had returned to school in order to

better career opportunities, as in the following:

Well I dropped out after grade nine so I figured that was all I need. I quit but then I started working and I figured well, I'll never get nowhere with grade nine so I returned back to school. (VI: 5)

Well, then I went to work for about the rest of the year and I thought, you know, there's nothing in there without any schooling, you need school, so I decided to come back. (X: 11)

This valuation was apparently shared by at least some other natives, as indicated in the following:

Well they [people on the reserve] think it's a great idea, you know, to see the younger people get an education, like my parents think we're going to be the next ones running the country. (VII: 16)

This valuation is further evidenced in that eleven respondents reported strong family encouragement to further their education. The two exceptions had been independent of their families for at least five years. Statements such as the following were common:

Well I phoned my mom when I got the urge, you know. "What's the use coming home. There's nothing to do out here." you know. . . . So I just decided to stay here. (IX: 10)

I had everything packed Got to the airport and my mom walked out of the plane She told me to stay. (XI: 12)

. . . I know that if I quit, if I go home, I'll be sent on the next plane back. (II: 12)

Other than my Dad, I wouldn't be in school. (VII: 7)

As well, respondents reported that people in their home community generally encouraged them to continue going to school, often with the hope that the students would help their people, as in the following:

. . . Any of the old people that you talk to who are Indian, you know, they always say "Keep on going to school, you're accomplishing something for us, you know, because we never had any education." They give us sort of a boost, like, you know, for myself it does.
(IX: 13)

. . . The people I know, they think it's a good idea to go to school. Because they want us, some of them want us kids to finish our education and try to help the reserve.
(XII: 14)

Respondents did perceive of themselves as having another choice, as indicated in the following:

I know I could have quit a good long time ago and just gone back to the reserve and stayed there. (VI: 23)

In summary, Supposition One is supported by the following evidence:

1. Eight respondents expressed a desire to be accepted and respected by Euro-Canadians.
2. Seven respondents belonged to a native youth club, a primary purpose of which was to gain the acceptance and respect of other students.
3. This desire for acceptance could influence natives' behavior.
4. Respondents' behavior was also influenced by the

norms of the dominant society.

5. Ten respondents expressed a desire to succeed in the dominant society.
6. Ten respondents planned careers in the dominant society; the three exceptions hoped to work with native people.
7. Respondents generally viewed education as the means to success in the dominant society.
8. All respondents expressed a positive valuation of formal education.
9. Respondents generally placed much faith in the ability of education to improve the lot of the native, individually and collectively.
10. Eleven respondents reported strong family encouragement to further their education; the two exceptions had been independent for some time.
11. People in their home communities generally encouraged respondents to further their education, often with the hope that the students would help their people.

II. SUPPOSITION TWO: SUB-GROUP MEMBERS EXPERIENCE VALUATION GROUP ALIENATION.

Berreman states that:

If there is social distance maintained by the dominant, positively valued group, members characteristically express alienation from the

valued group. This is one kind of reference group alienation: valuation group alienation. (Berreman 1964: 245)

As an example of valuation group alienation, Berreman notes that sub-group members are careful to demonstrate to their fellows that they have not become alienated from their membership group and that members of the dominant group per se do not attract them, demonstrating hostility to the dominant group, or indicating a lack of interest in being incorporated into it. Strong social pressures are likely to encourage this behavior.

One clear indication of valuation group alienation is the fact that every respondent clearly, regularly and often emphatically distinguished between Euro-Canadians and natives. The we-they dichotomy was made forcefully and frequently, as in the following examples:

Well, an Indian's and Indian, you know, but in some ways he has to cooperate with the whites, you know. (IX: 18)

Well, we do the same thing, as anything a whiteman does, we do it. Just watch them and we do it, you know. (XI: 4)

As a native, like myself, I feel that the whole educational system is just useless to me. For instance, you take those I.Q. tests, those I.Q. tests are made for you guys and a native writes it, you know, usually their I.Q. is way down there. But if we were to make up one and you guys were to take our I.Q. test or whatever, you know, some kind of survey, your I.Q. would be way down there. (VII: 10)

At times, this dichotomy was voiced with some resentment, as in the following response to a question about abolishing reserves:

What more do they [Euro-Canadians] want from us anyway? (VIII: 18)

This dichotomy is also illustrated in the following responses to questions about natives who attempt to pass, i.e., who try to be taken as Euro-Canadian:

It's just like saying that, jumping off the roof and saying you can fly. (V: 21)

It's like, oh like that Aesop's fable, the crow who tries to pass himself off as a peacock (III: 29)

Natives who attempted to pass could apparently run into social pressures. Twelve respondents indicated that natives in general were opposed to those who did attempt to pass, as in the following:

I. How do other Indians feel about Indians who try to pass off as white?

R. Well, they won't want to hang around with them, you know. (VII: 24)

I. How does it make you feel then, or how does it make other Indians feel when they watch other Indians try to be white, try to pass?

R. Oh, I get mad at them. Mmmm! (XII: 23)

I. How do Indians feel about natives who pretend that they're not native . . . ?

R. You don't like them at all. You know, I don't like them. Because we have a girl in the school who is exactly what you were saying just now. She never, I never see her around with another native at school. She is always with the white kids.

I. She's trying to act white then?

R. Yes. Whitewashed. And I don't think that - we don't like her at all. (X: 26)

Further validation for the supposition is indicated in that terms such as "whitewashed" and "acting white" were reported by respondents as being very derogatory.

This reaction to natives who attempt to pass might be part of a larger antipathy towards incorporation into the dominant society. All respondents expressed antipathy towards integration, as in the following:

. . . I really don't like the way they write, you know. Like you should see back home, these papers, you know, how nice it is for the Indians to be integrated, you know. Because they're losing their language and their culture and all this, you know. Pretty soon we'll be all brown white mans, you know. (VII: 15)

However, although they expressed antipathy for it, some respondents saw incorporation as inevitable, as in the following:

R. If you want to make it, you have to go into the majority.

I. So you see the long term as integration?

R. It has, it will come about. Not that I like it, but it will come about.

I. You don't think it would be a good idea . . . ?

R. Well, we shouldn't, we can't.

I. You can't?

R. It mustn't happen!

I. But you just said it will.

R. Yes, but I don't want it to happen. I'm fighting against it. (III: 28)

All respondents reported the existence of group pressures to ensure valuation group alienation and it was indicated that native students were subject to considerable social pressure to maintain valuation group alienation. As one respondent put it:

When young guys are going to school, they [other natives] are really against it, you know, turning into a white. (V: 20)

At least occasionally, this pressure could be applied by other native students, as in the following:

. . . When I first came up here, . . . I used to hang around with some white kids, you know, and all that. And right away the Indian attitude, the native people, the native students will think, "Well, she's brainwashed," you know. "She's doing, brainwashed, she's letting the white people take over her life." (VIII: 24)

The pressures reported to be used by students usually took the form of shunning the offending individual. However, the greatest amount of pressure for conformity was apparently exerted when native students went home for holidays. Respondents reported that a common accusation was that native students were "turning white," or being "whitewashed":

They think that we're coming to be more

white than Indian, you know. And they don't like it at all. (X: 17)

Another common criticism was that the native students were forgetting their ancestry:

. . . The older people kind of criticize us now. They say, you know, "You don't even talk Cree no more, and you're always talking English and you can't even do that dance right. You can't sing right, you can't play those Indian drums right." (I: 23)

A third common allegation was that native students were forgetting their people:

One old lady, one time I came home and I was working in the store and she said to me "You think you're a white girl or something like that just because you're going to school. You don't care about us anymore." I felt real bad then. (XII: 14)

A fourth general accusation was that the native students were "acting smart":

Like when I first came down here to school, and then I went home, people thought we were smart, you know. They thought, you know, "They're smart so they think they're better than we are," you know. That's what they think. (X: 17)

Pressures for conformity were reported to often take the form of subtle humiliation, as in the above examples. Another common form was rejection or ignoring by former friends as in the following:

But after you leave the reserve, they seem to think that you're way up there and what I found, I left the reserve and I come back home, I don't have any more friends there

because . . . most of them seem to think that I'm so high and mighty because I don't live on the reserve, you know. This is the reaction I get from them, you know.
(VII: 16)

When I get home, no one will speak to me, you know. (XII: 15)

The pressures exerted were sometimes of a physical nature, particularly if dropouts were involved, as in the following:

When we go home, some of the dropouts there try to pick fights with us, you know. It happens every time. (X: 17)

Most respondents voiced thoughts similar to the following:

. . . Especially when I go home in the summer time, it's getting a bit rough. (VI: 16)

Further confirmation of the supposition is shown in that eleven respondents indicated that they felt that Euro-Canadians understood natives less well than did other natives. This could lead to feelings of restraint in the presence of Euro-Canadians, as evidenced in the following examples:

I find I'm not as open to white kids as I am to the native people. I find they don't understand you; not they don't understand you, they don't want to recognize your beliefs like. (III: 11)

An Indian is silent, you know, when he's with the white people, because he knows he's different, than when he's with his own people you know. He's normal, he wants to be him-

self and he's more open, you know. (X: 23)

Respondents also generally felt that native students would feel more at ease with a native teacher:

I'll feel freely to talk to her [a native teacher]. I'll feel freely to discuss things with her, but as for a white teacher, I won't. (VIII: 15)

An Indian will always feel more at ease with an Indian, you know. (VII: 15)

In summary, Supposition Two is supported by the following evidence:

1. All respondents clearly and regularly dichotomized between natives and Euro-Canadians.
2. Hostility toward Euro-Canadians was occasionally expressed.
3. Twelve respondents indicated that natives in general were opposed to those who attempted to pass.
4. All respondents expressed an antipathy towards incorporation into the dominant society.
5. All respondents reported group pressures to ensure valuation group alienation.
6. Pressures such as shunning could be used by native students to ensure valuation group alienation.
7. Respondents reported that students were accused by other natives of being "whitewashed," of forgetting their heritage, of forgetting their people, and of "acting smart."

8. Pressures applied to respondents to ensure valuation group alienation included humiliation, rejection and physical attack.
9. Eleven respondents felt that Euro-Canadians do not understand natives as well as do other natives.
10. This lack of understanding could lead to feelings of restraint in the presence of Euro-Canadians.
11. Respondents generally felt more at ease in the presence of other natives than they did in the presence of Euro-Canadians.

III. SUPPOSITION THREE: SUB-GROUP MEMBERS PERCEIVE THEMSELVES AS EXPERIENCING RELATIVE, IF NOT ABSOLUTE, DEPRIVATION.

In such situations [of directed culture change] there is probably always some envy and resentment of the dominant group when, as is usually the case . . . , the subordinate group is denied membership in the dominant group and full access to the advantages enjoyed by the dominant group. A feeling of relative, if not absolute, deprivation occurs. (Berreman 1964: 240)

From this, it would seem that a common indicator of a perception of deprivation would be the citing by an individual of examples of what he considered to be discrimination, of which one definition is "the differential treatment of individuals considered to belong to a particular social class" (Simpson and Yinger 1965: 13), against him or members of his membership group.

Responses of the interviewees indicated much consistency with Supposition Three. So extensive is this consistency that it will be handled in two sections: experiences in school, and experiences in general.

A. Experiences in School

Eleven respondents indicated that they perceived discrimination by other students to be a common problem, particularly in some urban high schools. This discrimination was perceived as being most overt in non-classroom places, such as school washrooms and cafeterias, as indicated in the following example:

Well, okay, when you go to the cafeteria, it's not - it's just certain students, you know, that just hate Indian students, so they figure "Hell, we'll take every place, and we won't let them sit." So this guy say "Oh we don't want any of you dirty Indians here" And another example would be the bathroom. You go to the bathroom just to comb your hair. And you're standing there and this girl will come in and stand in front of you. (VI: 7)

More generally, respondents indicated that what they perceived as student discrimination took the form of the ignoring or snubbing of the natives by the Euro-Canadian students:

. . . When you pass them in the hallways and you say "hi" or something, they just look at you. Like they sort of give you a dirty look or something. (II: 7)

Reference to native girls as "squaws" appeared to be a relatively frequent occurrence, particularly by males as illustrated in the following:

- I. What do they [Euro-Canadians] do to show they're discriminating?
- R. Well, there's a lot of boys that call us squaws.
- I. Even at _____ [an urban high school]?
- R. There's just a few there that do that, but most of them, there's a lot that do talk to us, too. (XIII: 17)

This response seems to indicate that the respondent finds it acceptable when such discrimination is restricted to "just a few." This assumption is reinforced by the following dialogue with the same respondent:

- I. How do white kids treat native kids at school?
- R. Oh, they treat me all right.
- I. What do you mean by that now when you say they treat you all right?
- R. I talk to most of them out of my class.
- I. Do you ever think they treat you differently because you're native?
- R. No.
- I. _____ [school above] may be a good place for that.
- R. Yes, it is really.
- I. Have you ever felt in any of the schools that you've gone to that maybe you were treated differently?

- R. At _____ [a different school] they hardly talked to you. (XIII: 5)

Several of the returned dropouts indicated that what they had felt to be discrimination by students had contributed to their decision to leave school. An illustration is the following:

- R. Well at the time I dropped out because it was the first time I was in the city and I ran into a lot of prejudice in my school. At the start of that year there were ten of us native students and at the end there were just two or three. The rest quit . . . I guess I shouldn't have quit school. I should have fought this thing, you know and showed them I was proud of being native. But instead I turned away and I quit school.

- I. Because of the prejudice?

- R. Yes. (VII: 6)

Discrimination by teachers was reportedly much more restricted than discrimination by students. Seven respondents reported experiencing it, such as in the following:

One teacher says, well I got 95 in my math class in my grade seven and she says "Well, our Indian student got tops in the class today." Looks around at the rest of them, I was the only Indian student, says "Not bad for an Indian." (III: 9)

Nuns were the source of most of the discrimination reported of teachers and supervisors. Every one of the six respondents who had attended Roman Catholic residential schools reported what they felt were acts of

discrimination by nuns. Typical are the following quotations:

They used to call us everything, names, you know, like "savages" and all that, you know, but then we didn't know what it meant, you know, thought we were Indians, you know, they called us names and all that. Thought it was all right then, but after while, we couldn't figure it, you know. Then you started to hate those nuns. (X: 13)

When I was going to junior high school, we used to have these nuns, you know And once in a while, you'd get a teacher mad, you know, just like any other student We'd run around, you know, and pull girls' hair and kick a guy in the rear. And those nuns would get real upright about it and call you "savage." "Savage," you know, we didn't know nothing about it, you know, we just took it. They used to grab us by the hair and throw us on the floor then, you know, step on our head and leave us there. Keep us there for a while (XI: 7)

Usually, however, the discrimination by teachers reported was of a much more subtle variety:

. . . When I hear some teacher once in a while say "Don't act like an Indian," you know, that really hurts me sometimes. How is an Indian supposed to act by his thinking, you know? (X: 23)

Some of the teachers were real okay but then there were one or two, you know, of the bunch that just didn't seem to even want to bother asking you a question because you felt like they were - like you were too dumb to answer it anyway or something. (I: 7)

Much more common than reports of teacher discrimination were complaints that teachers did not under-

stand native students, as noted in the analysis under Supposition Two. Several respondents felt that not only did teachers not understand native students but they didn't care to understand:

Most of them [teachers] . . . just don't bother, you know, facing the facts that there's problems and that. "I figure I'm just out here to teach and that's it."
(VI: 7)

Other respondents indicated that some teachers refused to discuss the native situation as in the following:

. . . This English teacher, English 23, she was very nice, she was very understanding, but when it came up to talking about native people, she simply shoved it aside, you know, and I felt so uncomfortable in that room.
(VIII: 8)

Six respondents reported what they thought to be a bias against natives in the school curriculum. Those who so felt generally attacked history books as in the following:

. . . When the Indians killed the white man, well, it's a massacre, but the other way around, it's a victory. (I: 15)

The Indian's a savage, no hero, he's no person in a book. He's nothing! (XI: 17)

None of the respondents were engaged in extra-curricular activities. Three of the six who said that they had so participated had dropped out of them because of the following types of experiences:

Then you join in a club or something but you feel still left out because they go ahead and do things and I don't know - just like you're sitting there like a rubber ball or something You're sitting there, you know what's going on, but you don't get a chance to do anything. (I: 8)

I. You were on the school team?

R. I was going for about a month, then I dropped it. Because I just didn't want to play with the team.

I. Any particular reason why?

R. I was mostly left out. Left out of everything. So I decided to drop out.
(X: 9)

Ten members of the group indicated that they felt it was harder to go to school if you were a native. In addition to the above, reasons given included inferior academic backgrounds and problems with the English language.

In addition, seven respondents indicated that they felt their years in school had deprived them of their heritage;

. . . We're [native students] simply being shoved so far away, we're losing our culture, we're losing everything and well to me, I think the only people that are doing this to us are the white people. (VIII: 14)

B. Experiences in General

There was unanimous agreement among respondents that Euro-Canadians do discriminate against natives. How-

ever, a distinction was usually made, indicating that only some Euro-Canadians do so:

You can't say the whole race discriminates against the Indians. You couldn't say that because it isn't true. (IV: 15)

Indicative of the types of discrimination that the respondents perceived of themselves as experiencing are the following descriptions:

Well, for instance, a white guy will always go down to 97 and pick up a girl and for instance I'll be waiting at a bus stop, I'll see a guy jingling his money, you know, and I blew up and started calling this guy down, you know. Or else like once I was standing at the bus stop at a friend's place and this car load of guys passed and was called us down and all this. And this other guy I have experience of, he was from Germany, I went out with him, and this one guy, well he was sort of drunk, this other white guy came up and asked him, "How can you be so- is that the best kind of squaw you can get?" (VII: 23)

I'll take an example. Once we were walking down the street, all of sudden, a bunch of kids stick their head, "Dirty Indian." I was walking with my sister, "You dirty squaw!" Or waiting in line in a theatre and all of a sudden this guy came by in a car and says, "You dirty Indian. You know you shouldn't be standing in line. Get out of the place!" . . . At a red light I got him. You know there was four of us, you see. There was this red light, they stopped, there was three of them and one girl. Fixed them good though. (XI: 26)

Every male interviewed indicated that he had resorted to physical violence as a reaction to what he perceived to be discrimination. For example, the epilogue

to the above description is:

- I. What did you do to them?
- R. Nothing. We just beat them up.
(XI: 27)

A typical discourse about discrimination would be the following exchange:

- I. Do you think that white people discriminate against Indians?
- R. That's one thing I don't really understand - why the hell they - discrimination, you know.
- I. But there is discrimination?
- R. Yes. I don't see any point in that, you know. It's all stupidity as far as I'm concerned.
- I. But at the same time you seem to be saying that it does go on.
- R. Yes.
- I. Now let's go into this a little farther In what ways would white people discriminate against Indians?
- R. I don't know, too much about that - I shouldn't say, I don't know too much. It goes on everyday. I don't know. I know how to explain that to a guy, but where do you start? (IX: 19)

Seven respondents gave examples of how Euro-Canadians stereotype natives. This stereotyping usually concerned drinking but also included work habits and morality:

Well, most of them figure well, hell, you're

an Indian, you're a drunk, and that because they see one or two on skidrow and they figure all Indians are drunkards and that's it, they don't change their ideas. (VI: 4)

. . . Just because this one Indian did something wrong, they sort of blame the whole, well all the Indian people for it and they'll call them all whatever they want to call them. And if a white girl got pregnant, well everybody is saying "Oh the poor kid," and stuff and they forget it. They don't take it - it isn't as bad like for them as if an Indian girl did the same thing. And then if an Indian guy went and got a job with a white boss, like in a factory, or something, and he didn't show up for three days, because he went on a big drunk or something, he's kicked out - fired and stuff. And then that manager would instantly not want to hire another Indian thinking that he's going to be the same as that other Indian he had. But then if a white person went and did that and didn't show up for three days because he got on a drunk, that white guy would still hire another white guy, not thinking he's the same as the other white like. (I: 23)

Occasionally, respondents indicated that they felt that Euro-Canadians made natives feel inferior and deprived them of their ego:

White people make the Indians feel dumb like they have no ego in them. (I: 22)

R. I find that most native kids, they're self-conscious, they feel inferior and I think it's all in their heads and this is what holds them back

I. Where do you think this inferior feeling comes from?

R. I wouldn't know. Maybe from various schools when they were smaller. In the schools when they first started, in grade school, I imagine. (IV: 7)

In summary, Supposition Three is compatible with the following types of evidence:

1. Discrimination by other students was reported by eleven respondents, particularly at some schools. It had contributed to the decision to leave school by some of the returned dropouts.
2. Discrimination by teachers was reported by seven respondents. More common was a lack of understanding and a refusal to deal with the native situation.
3. Six respondents felt that there is some bias against natives in the curriculum, usually in history books.
4. Three of the six respondents who said that they had participated in extra-curricular activities dropped out because of discrimination.
5. Ten respondents felt it was harder to go to school if you were native.
6. Seven respondents felt that the school has deprived them of their heritage.
7. All respondents felt that some Euro-Canadians do discriminate against natives in general.
8. Every male respondent had reacted to discrimination in the city with physical violence.
9. Seven respondents felt that Euro-Canadians stereotype natives.
10. Occasionally, respondents indicated that natives feel

inferior in the presence of Euro-Canadians.

IV. SUPPOSITION FOUR: SUB-GROUP MEMBERS IDENTIFY WITH, AND ARE COMMITTED TO, THEIR MEMBERSHIP GROUP.

Most individuals . . . remain loyal to their own social group so long as it remains a functional entity capable of communicating its norms to its members, rewarding them, and exercising control over them. (Berreman 1964: 245)

Some indication that sub-group members identify with their membership group is evidenced in that all but one respondent indicated that a majority of their freriends were native. The single exception had just returned to school after working for several years in the city. Few respondents appeared to have any close personal contact with non-natives, and these contacts seemed to be almost exclusively restricted to the school milieu. Weekend activities for most centered around Friday night dances at the Y.W.C.A., almost exclusively native attended. Some social control could apparently be exerted to ensure this pattern of friendship insofar as nonconforming individuals could find themselves subjected to such pressures as shunning, as indicated in the analysis of Supposition Two.

Much identification with the norms of the membership group was evidenced. One indication of this is, as indicated in the analysis under Supposition Two, that

the respondents exhibited valuation group alienation. Some indication that this is the norm and that there is pressure to conform to it is shown in the following:

- I. Do you think that white men, white man, does discriminate against Indian people?
- R. Well, I don't think so but everybody else thinks so.
- I. You don't think so personally?
- R. I think they're trying to help but then nobody else seems to think that way so I just keep it to myself. (I: 22)

Another indication of this identification is that every respondent evinced pride in his ancestry, as indicated in the following:

- I. . . . What would it make you feel like if the Indians just disappeared?
- R. Well, I don't think it would happen.
- I. You don't think it will happen?
- R. I don't think they'll ever change an Indian you know. As far as I'm concerned. Well, I'm an Indian myself and there'll still be an Indian as long as I live, you know! You can't change me . . . !
- I. What does being of native ancestry mean to you?
- R. I don't have the answers to that one. Just proud to be an Indian. . . . Well that's one of the main answers you see about it, being proud to be an Indian, you know. (IX: 20)

The supposition is further supported in that there was a general desire to learn more about the

traditional customs and beliefs. Ten respondents wanted to have their traditional languages and/or cultures taught in the schools. Six were making conscious efforts to retain their traditional culture. These efforts took such diverse forms as studying Indians in the public library, taking native dancing lessons, interviewing old people about native traditions and practicing native handicrafts such as beadwork.

Further support is indicated in that many respondents were worried that they were losing their language and culture, as in the following:

. . . They [natives] are losing their language and their culture and all this, you know. Pretty soon we'll all be brown white mans, you know. (VII: 14)

Some indication that the group is capable of communicating its norms to its members is given in that nine respondents evidenced a retention of traditional beliefs. Some idea of the range and depth of these beliefs is shown in the following series of quotations:

R. . . . They have this Cree medicine in
 . And I don't know, in a way
 I get scared of it.

I. You get scared of it?

R. Yes.

I. What does it do?

R. . . . This girl always board at the house
 at home, . . . she's Cree and I don't

know, she talks to me and her mind's way out and she tells me this and she tells, you know, something about my future and that. When I think back on it I just get the shivers because half of it came true, you see.

I. And this is Cree medicine?

R. Yes. Now I get scared. Well, some of these, you know, they put things or they put a spell on you or something. And I guess that's true.

I. Some of these spells work?

R. Oh yes. I always get scared. What if they, what if she did that to me?
(VI: 20)

. . . They just sort of cast a spell on you like. If they saw your son like this girl or something they could cast a spell or something that would make this girl like this son and make them get married or something by a spell like. They call it medicine. (I: 21)

I. Are there any people on the reserve that have powers?

R. Yes, some of them do The old people.

I. What do they do with them?

R. Well there was this one girl, she beat up this old man, he was trying to hit her grandmother or something, and that man's grandparents, they put a curse on her or something like that and then she had a real, I don't know, big eye. Did it somehow, I don't know, what they did, but they used medicine. (VIII: 15)

. . . You never know who's got power, you know. (VII: 12)

R. And my dad, you know, he came out here for his leg, for his ankle. They couldn't

find nothing wrong with it. X-rayed and opened it and everything, operation. Nothing, nothing could do it, no cause for it. And his throat, they thought he had cancer. And we went to see this lady and the lady mixed up some potion for him. Just before Christmas. And this lady gave him something. Never bothered him after that.

I. Went right away?

R. Never bothered him. At first he couldn't sleep at all, he couldn't walk, it was always swollen up. It's down now. Nothing's wrong with it.

I. So some of this medicine is pretty powerful?

R. Yes. He had to drink the stuff in the bed, you know, and he didn't wake up for two days. They're supposed to leave him alone, like after you drink that you can't move for two days, you don't wake up for two days. (XI: 23)

R. . . . If you hear a tree frog sort of piping with their high pitch, you go find that tree frog and boil it until just the bones are left, that's all, just go around and check the area maybe 200 feet from where you caught the tree frog. You'll find a stream, you'll always find that stream, and you'll find just a small current, not really fast or really slow, just pour it in there. Your bones will sink to the bottom, watch those bones. If all the bones wash away, it means you'll never have, you'll never develop any power

I. So what happens if some of the bones do stay?

R. It means you hold some power. And it's up to you to find that power and develop it. (III: 25)

However, there was a general feeling that respondents had not been able to learn very much about their traditional religion, both because they had been away, and because the older people were secretive about it, as indicated in the following:

- I. Do the old people talk about the old religion anymore, then?
- R. No, they don't. They feel that us generations are not interested in it anymore but really if they discussed it with us and if we knew more of how to talk our native language, we'd be able to communicate very good and we'd understand it. (VIII: 21)

Most of the group found themselves suspended between the opposing belief systems, as in the following:

- R. The native religion, my father told me not to believe in it.
- I. What did your mother tell you?
- R. She told me it's true. But I didn't believe it. And then all of a sudden, you meet some older people who tell you of the same instance. (III: 25)
- I. Do some people have special powers then?
- R. Oh, yes, I think so - that's the worst thing - I want to, I believe, but I don't really believe, you know. It's just that I'm caught half and half.
(V: 15)

Some evidence of the exercise of group control is indicated in that all respondents reported the existence of group pressures for conformity to the norms of the

membership group. Respondents reported that these pressures were usually exerted on them when they went home for holidays, and consisted of such things as humiliation, rejection and physical attack. The fact that the respondents felt themselves subjected to these pressures is also further evidence of identification with group norms, for as Berreman states, "If rewards are thought to be forthcoming from a new identification group, the rewards and sanctions of the former group are irrelevant" (Berreman 1964: 237).

In summary, the following evidence was consistent with Supposition Four:

1. Twelve respondents indicated that a majority of their friends were native; the single exception had just returned to school after working in the city for several years.
2. Few respondents reported any close personal contacts with non-natives.
3. Respondents' leisure activities were almost entirely with other natives.
4. Pressures such as shunning could be used to ensure conformity to this friendship pattern.
5. Respondents exhibited valuation group alienation which appeared to be a norm.
6. Every respondent evinced pride in his ancestry. This also appeared to be a norm.

7. There was a general desire to learn more about traditional customs and beliefs.
8. Ten respondents wanted to have their traditional languages and/or cultures taught in the schools.
9. Six respondents were making a conscious effort to retain their traditional culture.
10. Most respondents were worried by the thought that they were losing their language and culture.
11. Nine respondents indicated a retention of traditional beliefs; often finding themselves caught between opposing belief systems.
12. All respondents reported the existence of group pressure for conformity to the norms of the membership group; and felt subject to them.

V. ADDITIONAL FINDINGS: RESPONDENTS' EXPERIENCES IN THE CITY

Several additional findings about the respondents' lives in the city evolved from the interviews. One such finding was that eleven respondents described their introductions to the city as lonely and difficult experiences. The two exceptions had moved in with siblings. The following are typical descriptions:

I felt strange, you know. Strange, like your first acid trip. Really strange, you know, you can't, you have to experience it for yourself, you know, from a country to

a city, and it's entirely different, you know. There's no trees, no freedom. Need money, You feel different You want to go back home, you know, and the devil and angel come up on your shoulder and "Do this, go home," and "Don't go home."
(X: 13)

. . . I was so nervous, I was always wishing I was at home. You know, I was all by myself as if there was nobody around. (VIII: 13)

It makes you feel like a dumb thing. Didn't know how to ride on the buses, didn't even know you're supposed to pull the string to get off, didn't know directions, didn't know streets ran one way, avenues ran another, didn't know the difference, didn't know how the streets went, like there's first, second, third, fourth, and things like that and you just didn't know anything, you're completely green. (I: 11)

Eight respondents indicated that they felt that native students had experienced considerable problems in their foster homes, as in the following:

I. Why did you move from the place you stayed?

R. I didn't like the poeple. They were sort of strict and they always fought and they never got along with each other.

I. . . . How did they treat you?

R. Sort of looked down on us I guess because we were staying there, it wasn't our home. There were three teenagers living in this house.

I. Those were their own kids?

R. Yes.

I. And you say they looked down on you?

R. Yes, we were just staying there.
"They could do that and they could do this. They might as well make up for living here."

I. So you were having to work for . . .

R. Yes. And plus they were getting paid.
(II: 13)

Most reported difficulties centered around restrictions placed on the respondent, as in the following:

But when you move into a family that you've never seen before, they've never seen you before, and then they sit there and tell you "you do this and you do that," you know, they have a book out of there and they're telling you the rules! . . . And I guess after three years out of school and I was on my own, it was kind of hard to say "You come in at 12 O'clock". (VI: 10-11)

I ran into quite a lot of problems out there . . . with my landlady. She, all of a sudden, she was really nice, all of a sudden she just changed because these other foster parents, they were really strict and she tried to go by them, you know, and we didn't like that and we really got into lots of hassles over that. Sometimes I just felt like running away and quitting school. . . . That landlady used to scream at us, and all this. And I didn't like it. I thought it was just like jail to me. . . . And Indian Affairs. . . they should have told us we were able to transfer and move out, you know. Instead they always pushed us back into that house, you know and the last part, that's in June, all we did was go upstairs, eat, go back to the basement, and we did that for a whole month, you know. (VII: 12)

Several respondents said that acquaintances had dropped out because of foster parents problems.

Six respondents indicated that they felt hardship in the city in terms of constantly being short of finances:

In the city you need money to do anything, to play a game of pool or to take your girlfriend out to a show. You just haven't got that Like say _____ and myself, on welfare. That's ten dollars a month and after we pay off the things you really need like shampoo or toothpaste or things you really need each month, all you got is seven dollars. It's just cheaper to get together with a few other friends and buy a bottle of wine, and right away your worker's on your back saying you're drinking up all the money. (III: 7)

Only four respondents, all female, planned to continue living in the city. Respondents generally indicated that they did not like living in the city and hoped to live in native communities. Several felt they were not free in the city, as in the following:

You don't feel free to do anything like they do at home. (X: 11)

However, all but one respondent indicated that they enjoyed the entertainment available in the city and found that life in their home communities was now boring. Comments such as the following were common:

I don't think I'd like to live in [home community]. It's so dead. (VI: 16)

In summary, additional findings about the respondents' experiences in the city include the following:

1. Eleven respondents' arrivals in the city had been lonely and difficult experiences. The exceptions went to live with siblings.
2. Eight respondents felt that native students had considerable problems in foster homes, usually because of restrictions placed on the students.
3. Six respondents felt a lack of funds in the city.
4. Respondents generally did not like living in the city. Only four planned to continue living there. However, they enjoyed the entertainment available in the city and found that life at home had become boring.

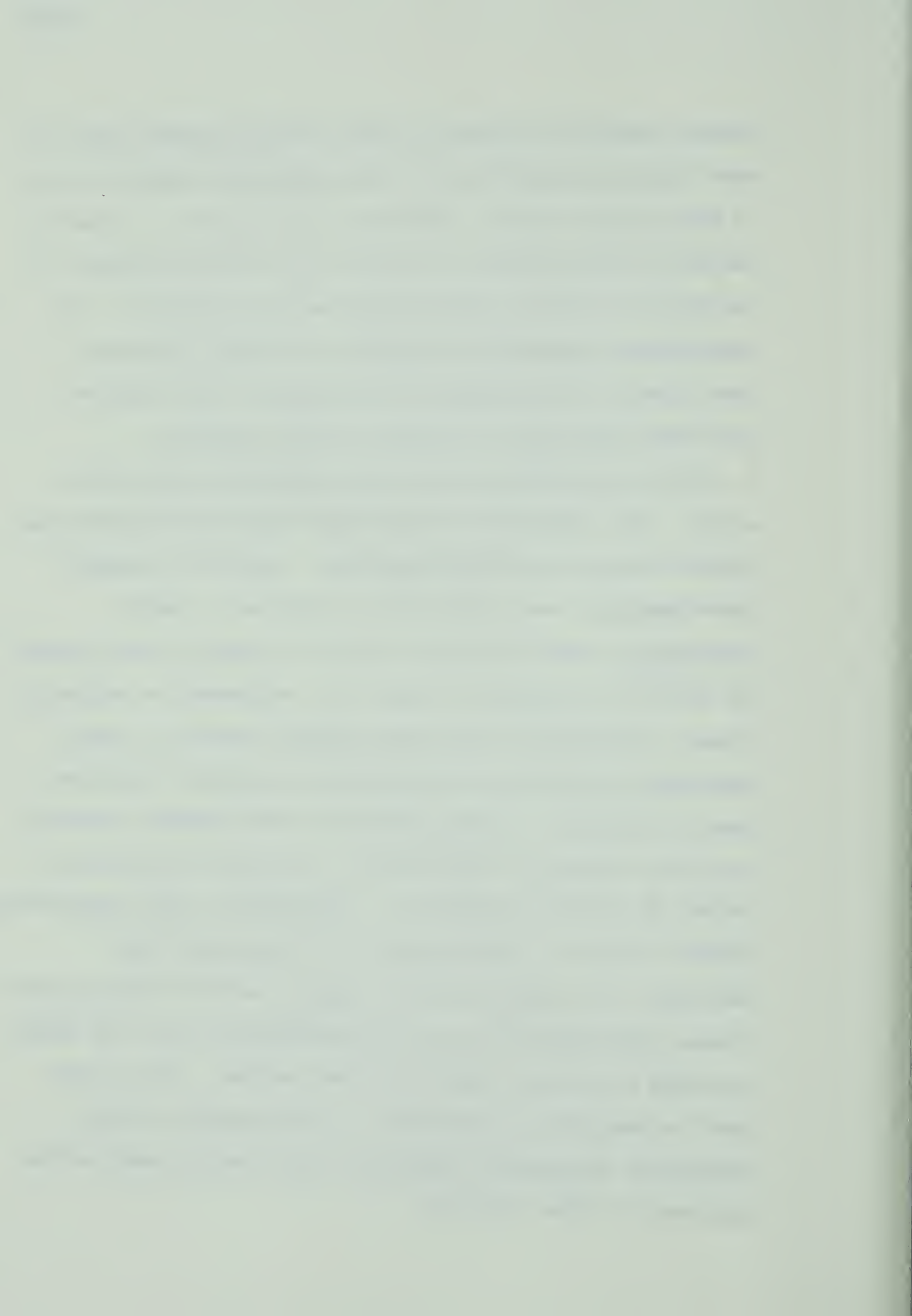
VI. SUMMARY

Briefly, the research findings as comprised of the respondents' reports of their perceptions as organized under the four suppositions, are as follows:

1. The dominant Euro-Canadian group constitutes a positive valuation group for members of the native subgroup. Eight respondents expressed a desire to be accepted and respected by Euro-Canadians. Seven belonged to a club of which a primary purpose was to gain the acceptance and respect of other students. This desire for acceptance was reported to influence native behavior, as were the norms of the dominant group. There was a

general desire to succeed in the dominant society and ten were planning careers in it; the exceptions hoped to work to help native people. Education was generally viewed as the key to this success, as well as to the improvement of the lot of natives, individually and collectively. All respondents expressed a valuation of formal education. They received considerable encouragement from families and home communities to further their education.

2. Sub-group members experience valuation group alienation. All respondents clearly and regularly dichotomized between natives and Euro-Canadians. Hostility towards Euro-Canadians was occasionally expressed. Twelve respondents indicated that natives in general were opposed to those who attempted to pass; all expressed an antipathy toward incorporation into the dominant society. Every respondent reported group pressures to ensure valuation group alienation. These pressures could include shunning by other students or humiliation, rejection and physical attack by natives in general. Respondents found themselves accused of being "whitewashed," of forgetting their heritage, of forgetting their people, and of "acting smart." Eleven respondents felt that Euro-Canadians are less understanding of natives than are other natives. This could lead to feelings of restraint in the presence of Euro-Canadians; respondents generally felt more at ease in the presence of other natives.



3. Sub-group members perceive themselves as experiencing relative, if not absolute, deprivation. In the school, discrimination by other students was reported by eleven respondents to be a common experience. It had contributed to the decision to leave school by some of the returned dropouts. Discrimination by teachers was reported by seven. More commonly, respondents felt that teachers do not understand and/or refuse to deal with the native situation. Six respondents felt there was some bias against natives in the curriculum, usually in history books. Discrimination had caused three out of six respondents who said they had participated to drop out of extra-curricular activities. Ten respondents felt it was harder to go to school if you were native. In addition to the above, reasons included inferior academic background and language problems. Seven respondents accused the school of depriving them of their cultural heritage.

All respondents felt that some Euro-Canadians do discriminate against natives. Every male respondent had reacted to discrimination in the city with physical violence. Seven respondents gave examples of the ways in which Euro-Canadians stereotype natives. It was felt that natives feel inferior in the presence of Euro-Canadians.

4. Sub-group members identify with and are committed to their membership group. Friendship ties of all but one respondent, who had just returned to school, were almost

exclusively native and there were few close contacts with non-natives. Pressures such as shunning could be exerted to ensure this pattern. Respondents exhibited valuation group alienation, which appeared to be a group norm. Every respondent evinced pride in his ancestry. This also appeared to be a group norm. There was a general desire to learn more about traditional customs and beliefs and ten respondents wanted to have their traditional languages and/or customs taught in the schools. Many respondents were worried by the thought that they were losing their language and culture. Nine respondents evidenced a retention of traditional beliefs, often finding themselves caught between opposing belief systems. All respondents reported the existence of group pressures for conformity to the norms of the membership group, and felt subject to them.

5. Several additional findings about the respondents' experiences in the city were noted. One was that their first weeks in the city had been very lonely and difficult experiences unless they went to live with siblings. Problems in foster homes were reported by eight respondents. Six reported financial problems in the city. Most did not like the city; only four planned to live in it. However, they enjoyed its entertainment and now found life at home boring.



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CHAPTER SIX

DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The preceding chapter examined the data within the perspective provided by Berreman's theory. The first part of this chapter examines some of the more significant findings within the wider frame of reference provided by the review of related literature in Chapter Two. It should be remembered that only the literature directly related to the findings is drawn on. Thus, a large section of the material discussed in Chapter Two, although felt to be pertinent to and important in the understanding of the data, is not further discussed.

The second section presents recommendations drawn from the findings of the study.

I. DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

A. Personality Characteristics of Respondents

Several of the findings indicate that the personality characteristics of the respondents closely fit Sebald's (1968) description of the characteristics of the "marginal type" of Indian adolescent. In brief, Sebald describes this teenager as being in a transitory stage, shifting from the Indian to the White style of life. Suspended between, he has little allegiance to

THE HISTORY OF THE

The history of the world is a subject of great interest and importance. It is a subject which has attracted the attention of men of all ages and of all nations. The history of the world is a subject which has been the subject of many different theories and opinions. Some have thought of it as a series of events, while others have thought of it as a process. Some have thought of it as a story, while others have thought of it as a science. The history of the world is a subject which has been the subject of many different theories and opinions. Some have thought of it as a series of events, while others have thought of it as a process. Some have thought of it as a story, while others have thought of it as a science. The history of the world is a subject which has been the subject of many different theories and opinions. Some have thought of it as a series of events, while others have thought of it as a process. Some have thought of it as a story, while others have thought of it as a science.

either, and often experiences rejection from both. Pressures to adjust come from both sides, often incongruous and contradictory to each other. In a sense, this youngster must retain his identity as an Indian and yet learn to live as a second class White man. This paradoxical and conflicting situation leaves him without direction, often prodding him on to compensatory and delinquent patterns.

One such finding was that the respondents were being rejected, at least to some degree, by Euro-Canadians. Thus, although they generally expressed a desire to be accepted and respected by Euro-Canadians, respondents had been largely unsuccessful in establishing close personal relationships with them. This would seem to indicate that this desire had been thwarted and that the respondents were being rejected, at least to some degree. Further evidence of this rejection would seem to be indicated by the findings that eleven respondents reported discrimination by other students and that all respondents felt that some Euro-Canadians do discriminate against natives in general.

At the same time as they generally expressed a desire to be accepted and respected by Euro-Canadians, the respondents also expressed alienation from Euro-Canadians, possibly as a result of the above described rejection. This finding of alienation is supported by

the findings that all respondents clearly and regularly dichotomized between natives and Euro-Canadians, that twelve respondents indicated that natives in general were opposed to those who attempted to pass, and that all respondents expressed an antipathy towards incorporation into the dominant society.

These findings appear to reinforce another, that all respondents expressed a pride in their native ancestry. Cumulatively, these findings seem to support Friesen and Lyon's (1970) finding that 65 per cent of their Indian respondents expressed a desire to have Indian children be "Indian" and Abu-Laban's (1965) finding that 60 per cent of the Indian students in his sample identified with their ethnic group.

This feeling of pride in ancestry connected with the finding that seven respondents belonged to a native youth organization indicate that the respondents deviated from Sebald's "marginal type" in that they did express much allegiance to their ancestral group. These findings may also be indications of the growth of a nativistic revitalization movement (cf. Wallace 1956). The findings of a general desire to learn more about traditional customs and beliefs, that six respondents were making a conscious effort to retain their traditional cultures, and that ten respondents wanted to have their traditional languages and/or cultures taught in the schools may be

further indications of such a revitalization movement.

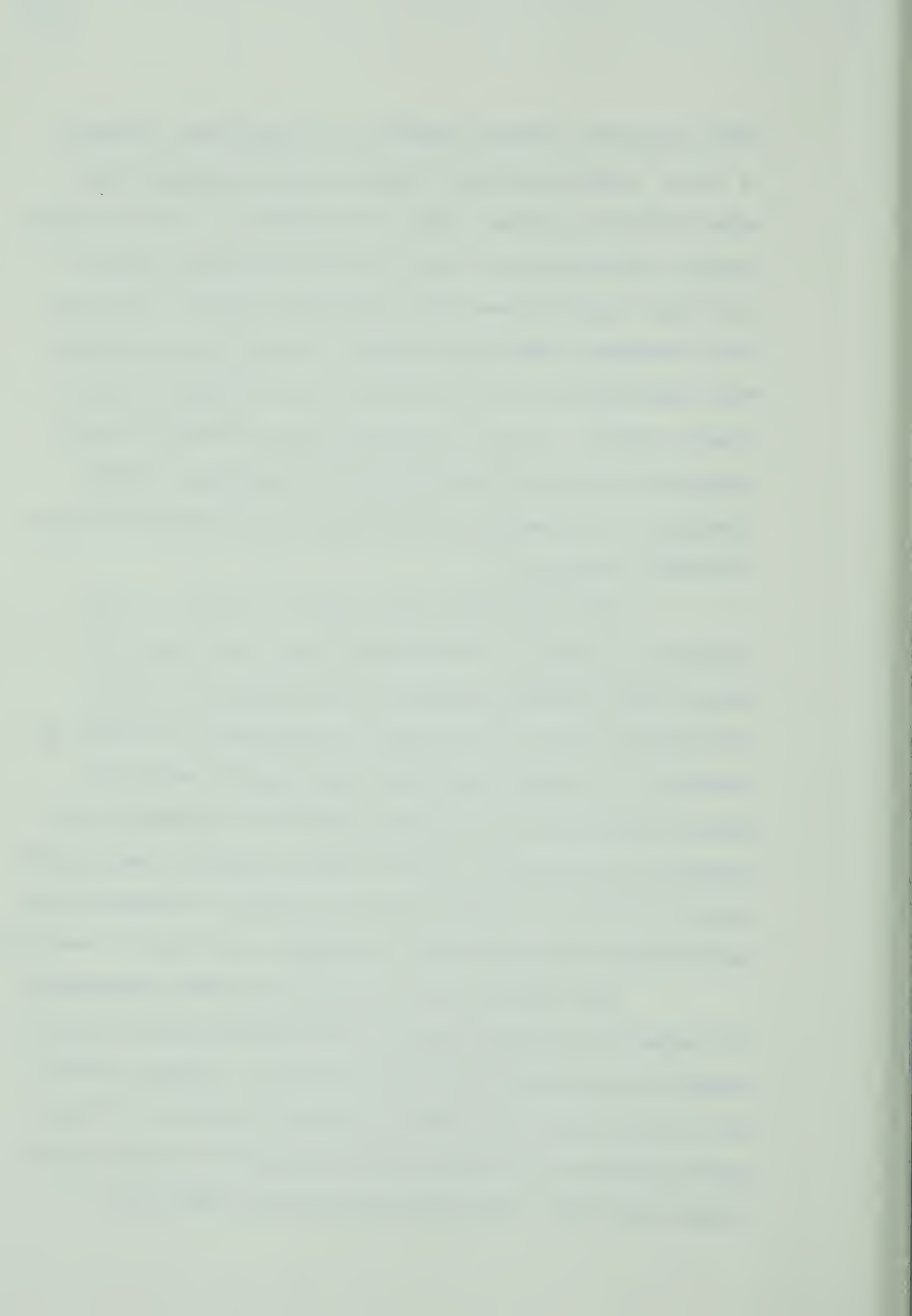
Despite the above findings, most respondents were worried by the thought that they were losing their cultures and languages. This finding may be an indication of cultural disintegration, in which case it would support Friesen and Lyon's (1970) findings in Southern Alberta that although such aspects of Indian culture as dances, stories, myths, and societies still existed, those cultures studied seemed to be disintegrating. Friesen and Lyon content that unless some appropriate measures are taken by the individuals directly involved, governmental or outside group measures would be practically futile. If so, the measures being taken by the respondents in the present study, and listed above as possible indicators of a nativistic revitalization movement, may assume special significance; and any attempts by the school to rejuvenate Indian culture might well be in vain. However, the school could attempt to promote the above-mentioned types of activity. Some possible ways of doing so are discussed later in this chapter.

Related to the above findings would appear to be the finding that nine respondents evidenced a retention of traditional beliefs and that they often found themselves caught between opposing belief systems. This finding, as well as fitting Sebald's "marginal type," would support Graham and Taylor's (1969) finding that

their subjects, Indian students, retained many elements of their Indian heritage, and that these students were experiencing a general state of confusion: they no longer closely identified with their more traditional parents but their heritage was still pervasive enough to prevent full conformity with the dominant culture in the schools. This would seem to be the case for the subjects of the present study. If so, it may be that the group studied supports Hallowell's (1955) and the Spindlers' (1957) findings of a considerable retention of aboriginal traits in native subjects.

These findings also support Nagler's (1970) findings in Toronto. He suggests that one result of being caught between opposing belief systems is that individuals tend to set aside the problem of morality as insoluble, in which case they must usually resort to simple expediency in contending with the exigencies of immediate situations. Merton (1968) suggests that another result of being so caught might be anomie, accompanied by such things as hopelessness, escapism, and deviant behavior.

The findings also indicate that the respondents fit Sebald's "marginal type" in that they seemed to some degree to be rejected by other natives. Insofar as they do fit this type they must, as Sebald points out, retain their identity as Indians and yet learn to live as second class white men. This contention would seem to be



supported by the finding that some respondents felt that natives feel inferior in the presence of Euro-Canadians. This feeling of inferiority may in turn be related to the finding that seven respondents felt that Euro-Canadians stereotype natives, because as James (1961) points out, such stereotyping anchors such "inferiority" in the biology of the individual and beyond his control.

This pressure to retain his identity as an Indian and yet learn to live as a second class white man may, as Sebald indicates, leave the youngster without direction, often prodding him on to compensatory and delinquent patterns. One result, as indicated by Kerchkoff and McCormick (1955), might be the development of marginal personality characteristics. Their study found that the development of marginal personality characteristics was significantly correlated with degree of identification with the dominant group and with the degree of resistance to acceptance by the dominant group.

As indicated by Berreman (1964), depending upon the extent of rejection, respondents may eventually be forced into making a choice of either severing ties with other natives, or of rejecting entirely the dominant group, in which case one result might be the emergence of the Spindlers' (1957) "reaffirmative native" type. If so, the Spindlers forecast that the individual would readily and avidly revert to traditional customs and ceremonies and

attempt to submerge any doubts about that culture by compensatory and self-conscious participation in it.

Another possibility is total rejection by both groups, in which case anomie would be the likely result (cf. Berreman 1964: 246).

B. Respondents' Relationship to Education

A main finding was that respondents generally viewed education as the key to success in the dominant society. This would seem to support similar findings by MacNeish (1956); Zentner (1963); and Wax, Wax, and Dumont (1964). However, Fisher (1967) found this belief to be a fallacy for Southern Alberta Indians, and it may also be for the respondents in the present study. If so, this belief is extremely dysfunctional and could be quite destructive to these respondents.

Another finding which may indicate an extension of the above view, was that eleven respondents reported strong family encouragement to further their education and that the two exceptions had been independent of their families for some time. This would seem to support Zentner's (1963) finding that, in his sample, the Indian population had a higher proportion of students reporting "a great deal" of parental pressure to think about going on to further training than did the non-Indian population.

This finding would also seem to support the Wax's (1968) contention that the majority of those few Indians who do go to college receive a great deal of social, psychological and financial support from their extended kin group. The finding would also support the Wax's rather surprising conclusion that a small but still significant number of Indian graduate from high school because they are alienated from their kin and from their reservation peer groups.

At the same time as they reported considerable encouragement from families and home communities to further their education, respondents also reported being accused by other natives of being "whitewashed," of forgetting their people and heritage, and of "acting smart"; and of being subjected to humiliation, rejection and physical attack. This seeming paradox may be an indication of an ambivalent attitude towards education and towards Euro-Canadian society as a whole, in which case it may be a reflection of the conflict which Berreman's theory implies.

Discrimination by teachers was reported by seven respondents. Even more common were reports of a lack of understanding and a refusal by teachers to deal with the native situation. This would coincide with similar findings by MacNeish (1956), and King (1967), and would seem to support Wolcott's (1962) conclusion that the teachers represent a formal educational system whose mission is to minimize traditional Indian culture.

Related to this finding would seem to be the findings that eleven respondents reported discrimination by other students in school, six respondents felt that there was a bias against natives in the curriculum, ten respondents felt it was harder to go to school if you were native, and seven respondents felt that the school had deprived them of their heritage. Cumulatively, these would seem to indicate that schooling has been a difficult experience for many, if not all of the respondents. If so, this would support such findings as those of Fisher (1966), King (1967), and Wolcott (1962).

One reason why the schooling may have been a difficult experience for the respondents is that the findings indicate that the acculturation process has been for these students an entirely one-way process, with native students making all of the adaptations and the school system making none. This would also support findings by Fisher (1966), Wolcott (1962), etc. In this light, it seems entirely likely that the school in its role as a primary agent of acculturation is in large degree responsible for the development of marginal personality characteristics in the respondents as indicated in the previous section. If the school is so responsible, this would support the respondents who felt that natives learned to feel inferior in school as well as the contentions by Fisher (1969), and Wolcott (1962) that the school

has a destructive influence on native students.

C. Other Findings

Twelve respondents indicated that a majority of their friends were native. Few respondents reported any close personal contacts with non-natives. Respondents' leisure activities were almost entirely with other natives. Pressures such as shunning could be used to ensure conformity to this friendship pattern. All of these findings seem to support Abu-Laban's (1965) finding that a majority of his respondents, Indian students, derived their gratification from their membership group. These findings also seem to indicate a pattern of isolation in which peer influence is almost unchecked. This indication would support a similar finding by Wax, Wax, and Dumont (1964), who found that in this type of situation, the nature of this peer society and the individual student's place within it became the greatest factor in his school performance.

Another finding was that only four of the thirteen students in the study planned to live in the city. Most hoped to live in native communities. This would appear to differ with Abu-Laban's (1965) findings that none of his subjects preferred to work or live on reservations after they finished school, and that about two-thirds selected a large city as a desired place of

residence. This contrast may indicate that Indian students now feel more able to work for their people, or a growth in pride in ancestry, or a realization that their objectives cannot be met in the city, or a feeling of complete inadequacy to cope on their own with the white urban social environment.

II. RECOMMENDATIONS

This section presents recommendations drawn from the findings of the study. It should be remembered that although the related literature and other evidence would indicate that the findings are probably applicable to a larger group, that the extent of this generalizability is not known. Thus, the recommendations which follow are applicable only to the thirteen subjects of the study, and each should also be considered a recommendation for further research.

1. Seven respondents reported discrimination by teachers. More generally, respondents felt that teachers either refused or were unable to deal with the native situation. The study recommends the following steps to attempt to rectify this situation:
 - a. the careful selection of teachers for the intercultural situation.
 - b. the careful preparation of teachers to cope with native students and their problems

through the intensification of university programs in intercultural education, the establishment of specialist councils in intercultural education and other forms or media for in-service education, wider use of internships or practicums, etc.

c. extensive research into appropriate methods of preparing teachers for the intercultural milieu.

2. Several respondents expressed a desire to have native teachers. As well as performing other functions, native teachers would provide native students with native success models as well as possibly helping to reduce stereotyping of natives by Euro-Canadians students. Thus, this study recommends that special emphasis be placed on the recruitment and training of native educators for both intercultural and uni-cultural classrooms. Another device might be the wider use of native para-professionals to bridge the gap between white teachers and native students.
3. Acts of overt discrimination by other students were reported by most respondents. This study recommends that school administrators take an extremely firm stance against overt discrimination and that measures to reduce racial prejudice and discrimination be investigated and put into practice in the schools as

quickly as possible. Such measures might include the inclusion in school curricula of an extensive examination of Indian culture including religion, art, games, dances and oral literature; the use of native students as resource people; and the establishment in schools of native clubs or inter-racial clubs for the study of native culture.

4. Respondents generally indicated that they felt that they were losing their cultures and languages, and these losses were seen as undesirable. Some accused the school of cultural genocide. These losses would seem to be undesirable in a pluralistic society. Thus, this study recommends that an investigation of possible measures to prevent these losses be undertaken, and that such measures be put into practice as quickly as possible.
5. Respondents generally expressed a desire to learn more about their traditional cultures and languages. If this would seem to be desirable in a pluralistic society, then a further recommendation would be the investigation and establishment of means to enable natives to learn more about their cultures and languages. Such investigation should include special courses in school programs, folk schools, native cultural centers, etc.
6. Descriptions of their experiences in schools by

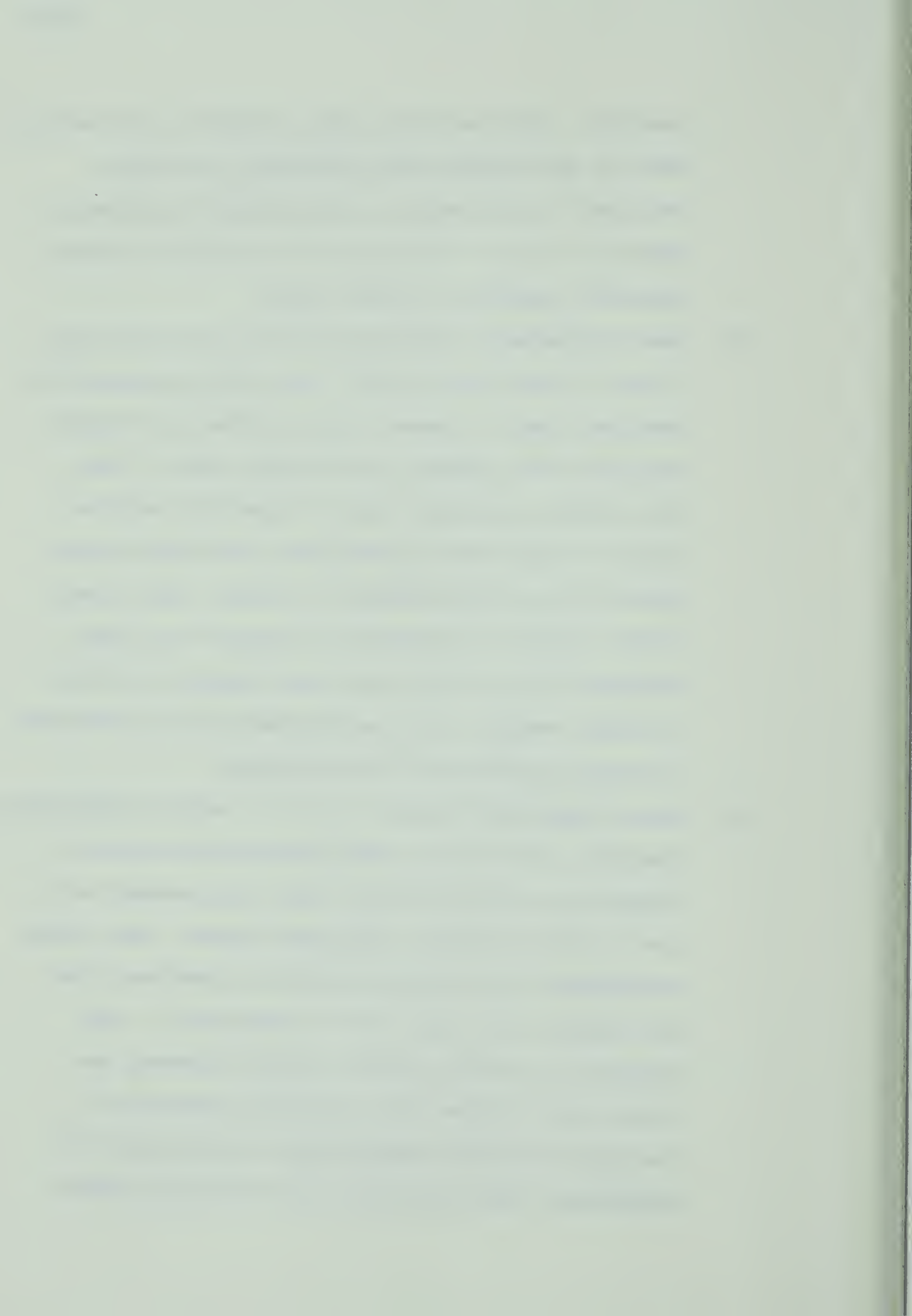
respondents indicate that in many instances these experiences have been destructive. This study recommends that measures to remove or alleviate this destructiveness be investigated and put into practice. Such measures might include the extensive preparation and careful selection of intercultural teachers, the recruitment of native teachers, the establishment of native-run schools, the establishment of multicultural or bicultural schools, the careful preparation of curricula, and the extensive recognition of Indian culture and history in the school.

7. Respondents generally indicated that they felt that equal education would yield equal job opportunities. This belief may be a fallacy (cf. Fisher 1966), in which case it would be extremely dysfunctional. Thus, this study recommends that the validity of this belief be investigated and if it is found to be false, that all possible measures be taken to rectify this situation. Such measures might include special governmental hiring policies and the enforcement of fair employment legislation in non-public business and industry.
8. Several respondents mentioned problems in foster homes. This study recommends that extremely close scrutiny be made of prospective foster homes, and that alternate forms of domicile such as apartments for

native students be investigated. Perhaps, other agencies such as churches, social organizations, etc. should be asked to assist in the provision of homes.

9. Several respondents indicated that native students suffered hardship in the city because of lack of funds. This hardship may be caused partially by the fact that they were not living with their families, and that entertainment was used to alleviate their loneliness. This study recommends that more funds be provided for native students by the agencies responsible, and that alternative inexpensive forms of recreation for them be provided by such agencies as the recreation department of the city, the school systems involved, churches and service clubs.
10. Several respondents cited examples of stereotyping of natives by Euro-Canadians. This study recommends that measures to stop this stereotyping be investigated and put into practice. One such measure might be to give students a more accurate picture of natives by an extensive examination of Indian history and culture in the schools.
11. Respondents indicated that discrimination was a common experience. This study recommends that measures to stop this discrimination be carefully researched and put into practice as quickly as

- possible. Such measures might include strict enforcement of fair housing and employment practices; programs to give people a more accurate picture of natives; and the increasing of stereotype-breaking contacts, possibly in youth camps.
12. Most respondents indicated that they did not enjoy living in the city and that they faced considerable problems there. However, most of their job opportunities will probably be in urban areas. Thus, this study recommends that all possible steps be taken to alleviate the problems that native people face in living and working in cities. Such steps might include the expansion of special training programs for natives, the establishment of native cultural centres, and the implementation of measures to stop prejudice and discrimination.
13. Most respondents wanted to live in native communities. However, the present unemployment rate in native communities would indicate that they probably will not be able to obtain employment there. This study recommends that to alleviate this situation, jobs be created in or near native communities. Some measures to do this could include increased tax incentives to firms who establish industries or business in native communities, the provision of government loans and grants for the establishment



of more native-operated businesses, and increased financial encouragement to native-owned producer co-operatives.

III. SUMMARY

This chapter examined some of the more significant findings in light of the review of literature. It was found that many of the findings corresponded closely with those of other studies. In particular, the respondents seemed to have many of the personality characteristics of Sebald's "marginal type" of Indian adolescent. These characteristics included rejection by both Indians and Euro-Canadians, an alienation from Euro-Canadians, and being caught between opposing belief systems. The findings also indicated that it is likely that the school may have been responsible for the development of these marginal personality characteristics.

The second part of the chapter presented some common problems derived from the data, and proposed some possible solutions.

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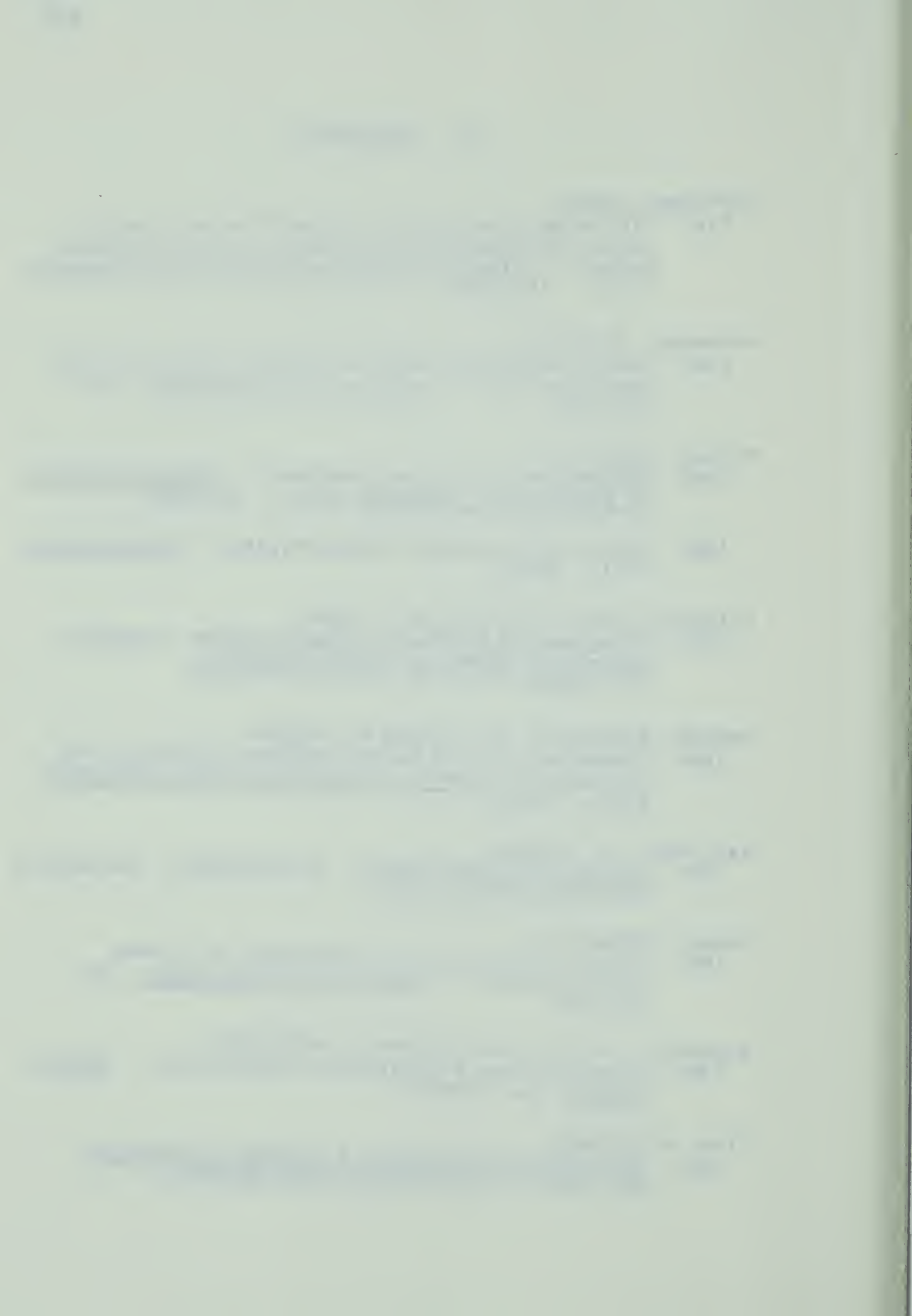
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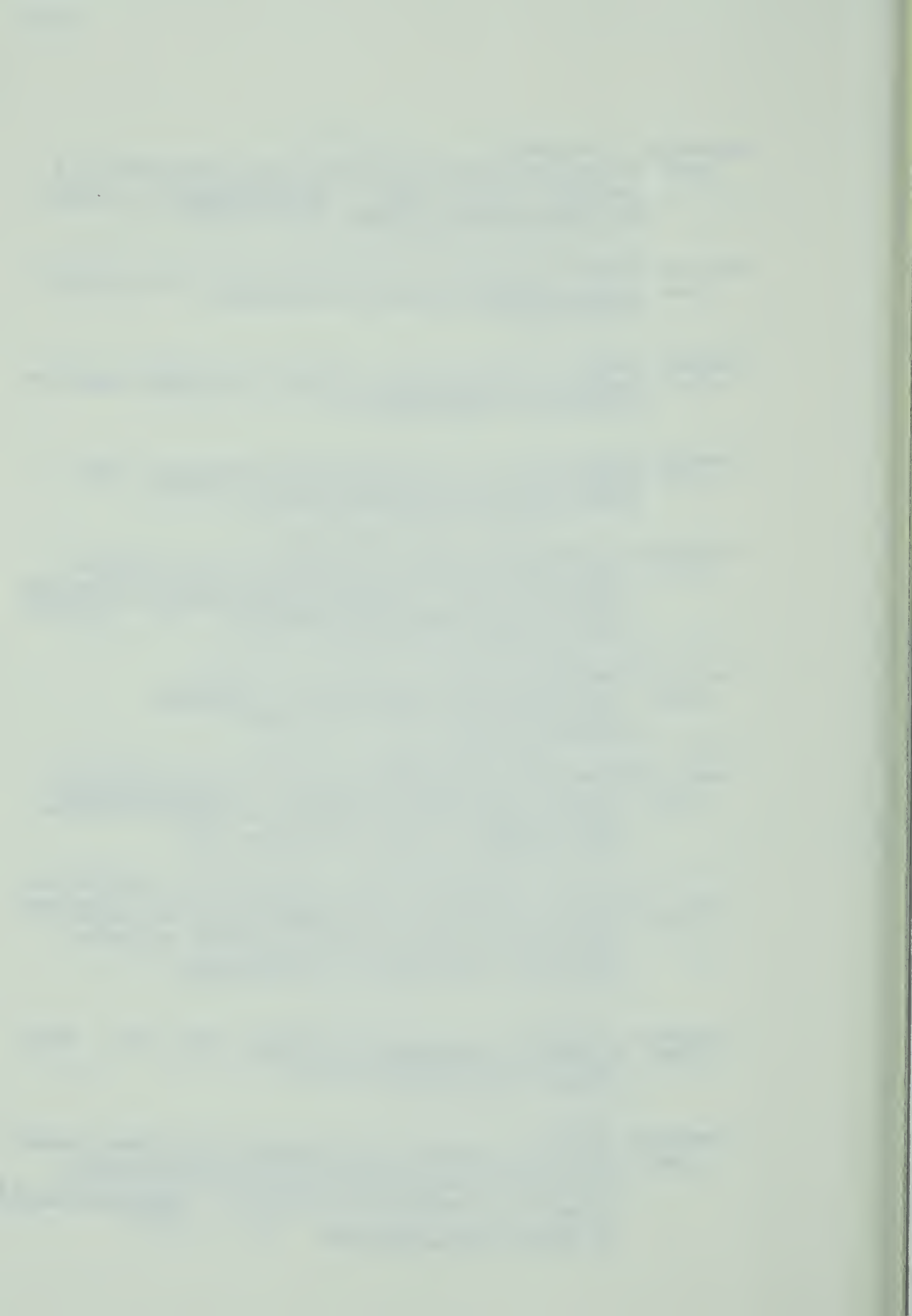
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CHAPTER SEVEN

SYNTHESIS AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR RESEARCH

I. THE PROBLEM

The problem of the study was: what are the experiences of a small number of Indian students undergoing acculturation in urban high schools? The purposes of the study were twofold: (1) to explore the processes of acculturation as experienced by a small number of Indian students attending urban high schools in Alberta, and (2) to develop from this exploration suggestions and recommendations for further and more extensive research in this area, which might apply to a larger population.

II. PROCEDURES

Data were collected by means of depth interviews with thirteen native students. The instrument was designed to elicit responses concerning the perceptions of the respondents of their experiences in the city and at school, and of their traditional cultures and their relationships to these cultures. Transcripts of the interviews were made. Their content was coded and analyzed to provide a descriptive analysis of the data.

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AMERICAN

REVIEW

OF THE
LITERATURE
AND
ARTS
OF THE
UNITED STATES
AND
OF
THE
FOREIGN COUNTRIES
TO WHICH
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ARE
CONNECTED
BY
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IN
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This analysis was organized mainly around four suppositions generated from Gerald D. Berreman's theory of reference group alienation, mobility and acculturation. These suppositions were as follows:

1. The dominant, Euro-Canadian group constitutes a positive valuation group for members of the native sub-group.
2. Sub-group members experience valuation group alienation.
3. Sub-group members perceive themselves experiencing relative, if not absolute, deprivation.
4. Sub-group members identify with, and are committed to their membership group.

III. FINDINGS

A. Supposition One.

Eight respondents expressed a desire to be accepted and respected by Euro-Canadians; seven belonged to a club of which a primary purpose was to be accepted and respected by Euro-Canadians. This desire influenced behavior, as did the norms of the dominant group. There was a general desire to succeed in the dominant society. Education was seen as a means to this success as well as to improvement of the lot of natives.

B. Supposition Two.

Respondents clearly and regularly dichotomized between natives and Euro-Canadians. Resentment toward Euro-Canadians was occasionally expressed. Eleven felt that Euro-Canadians do not understand natives as well as do other natives. Restraint was felt in the presence of Euro-Canadians; respondents generally felt more at ease in the presence of other natives.

C. Supposition Three.

Discrimination by other students in school was reported to be a common experience by eleven respondents. It had contributed to the decision to leave school by some of the returned dropouts. Discrimination by teachers was reported by seven. More commonly, respondents felt that teachers did not understand and/or declined to deal with the native situation. Six respondents felt there was some bias against natives in the curriculum, usually in history books. Discrimination had caused some respondents to drop out of extra-curricular activities. Ten respondents felt it was harder to go to school if you were a native. Seven felt that to a greater or less extent it had deprived them of their heritage. All respondents felt that some Euro-Canadians do discriminate against natives. Seven cited examples of stereotyping by Euro-Canadians. It was felt that natives feel inferior

in the presence of Euro-Canadians.

D. Supposition Four.

Respondents' friendship ties were almost exclusively native. There were few close contacts with non-natives. Pressures could be exerted to ensure this friendship pattern. Respondents conformed to norms of valuation group alienation and pride in ancestry. Most respondents were worried by the thought that they were losing their languages and their cultures, and there was a general desire to learn more about traditional customs and beliefs. Ten respondents wanted to have their native languages and/or customs taught in the schools. Six respondents were making a conscious effort to retain their traditional culture. Nine respondents indicated a retention of traditional beliefs, often finding themselves caught between opposing belief systems. All respondents felt subject to group pressures for conformity to the norms of the membership group.

E. Additional Findings.

Respondents' first weeks in the city had been lonely and difficult. Eight reported difficulties in foster homes. Six felt handicapped by a lack of money in the city. Most did not like living in the city but they enjoyed its entertainment; most planned to live in native communities but now found life at home boring.



An examination of the findings indicated that the respondents exhibited many of the characteristics of Sebald's "marginal type" of Indian adolescent, and that the school may have been responsible for the development of these personality characteristics.

IV. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

Since this study was of an exploratory and descriptive nature, findings are tentative only, and no conclusions are drawn from them. Instead, this section indicates research that appears warranted by the study. These recommendations are organized into two parts: general recommendations for further research, and specific recommendations for further research.

A. General Recommendations

1. Berreman's theory as manifested in the four suppositions derived from it appears to make a meaningful contribution to the examination of the processes of acculturation experienced by native students attending urban schools in Alberta. However, this study contained an intensive analysis of a very small, non-random sample. If Berreman's theory is to be a viable tool for research in Canadian social science and education, it needs to be subjected to much more rigorous and extensive testing.

2. The extent of generalizability of findings of this study was impossible to ascertain because of the nature of the research and the nature of the sample. The degree of generalizability of these findings needs to be determined by further research.
3. This study to some limited degree documented the experiences of a small group of native students in urban high schools in Alberta. Further research is needed to more fully document the experiences of native students, using a variety of both theories and methodologies.
4. This study examined perceptions as expressed by respondents. No effort was made to determine the relationship between expressed and actual perceptions. Further research might be undertaken to attempt to determine this relationship.

B. Specific Recommendations

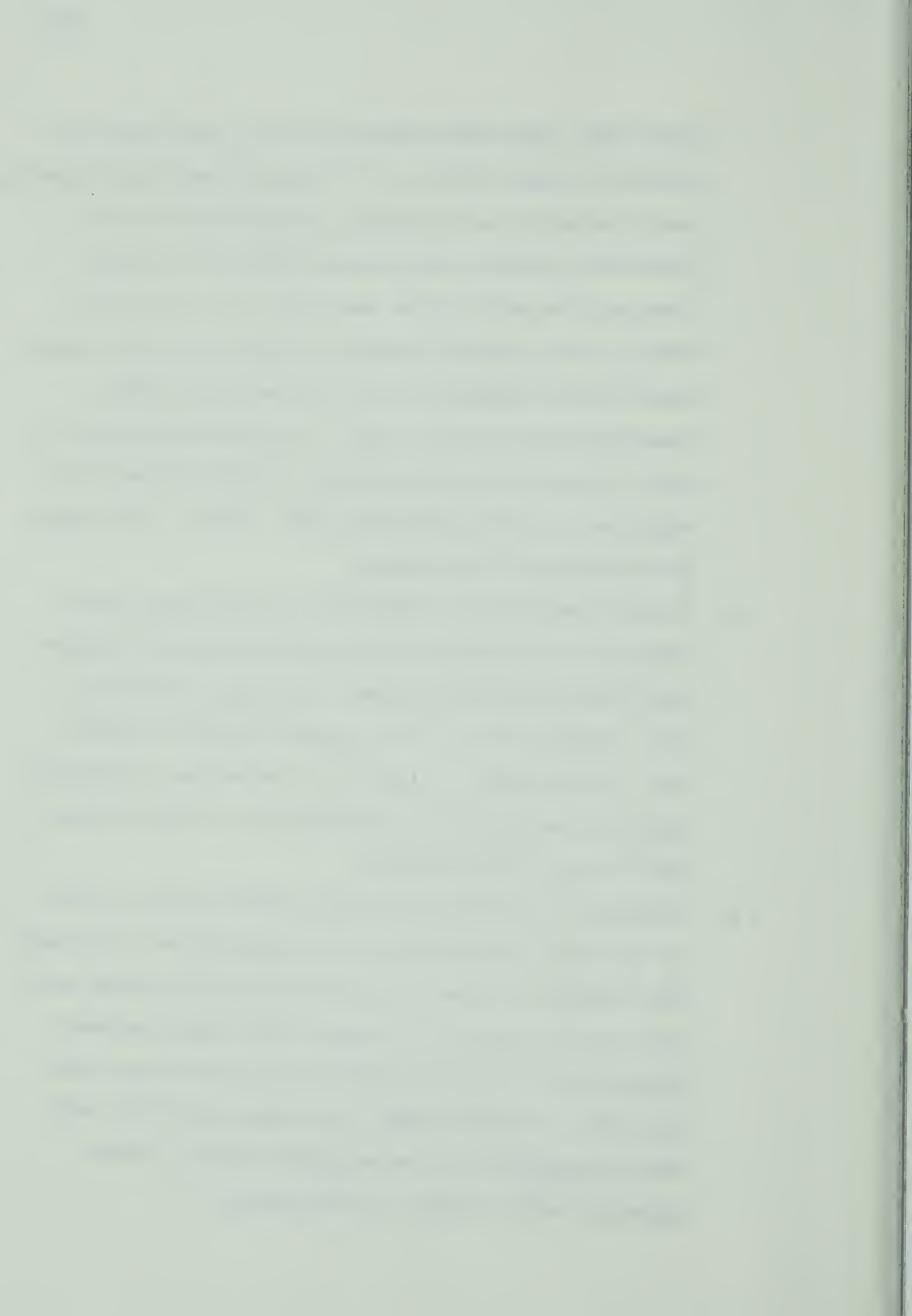
1. Respondents generally expressed a desire to be accepted and respected by Euro-Canadians. However, they had been largely unsuccessful in establishing close personal relationships with Euro-Canadian students. This may indicate that this desire had been thwarted. This question needs further investigation.
2. There was some indication that respondents had to some degree been rejected by Euro-Canadians. At the



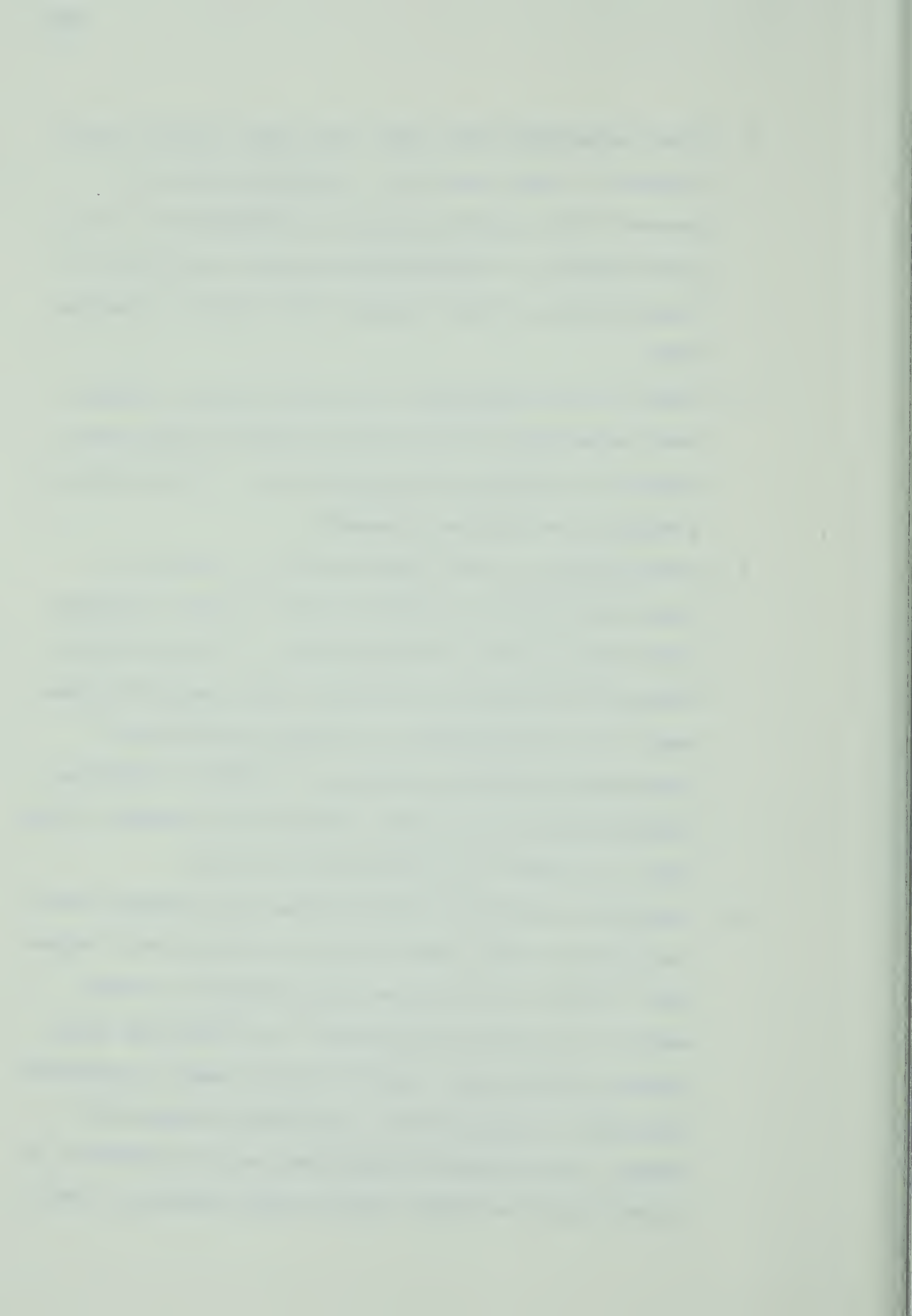
same time, they also seemed to be to some degree rejected by other natives. If this is the case, depending upon the extent of rejection, respondents may be eventually forced into making a choice of either severing ties with other natives, or of rejecting entirely the dominant group, in which case one result might be the emergence of the Spindlers' (1957)

"reaffirmative native" type. A third possibility is total rejection by both groups, in which case anomie might be a result (Berreman 1964: 246). This needs to be further investigated.

3. Several respondents indicated that they felt themselves to be caught between opposing belief systems. One result might be a resort to simple expediency (cf. Nagler 1970: 25); another might be anomie (cf. Merton 1968: 215-216). The degree of generalizability and possible implications of this finding need further investigation.
4. Although respondents generally didn't want to live in the city, they enjoyed its entertainment; although they wanted to live in native communities, they were now bored at home. It appears that they had been prepared for lives in opposition to the lives they planned. It may be that this preparation has left them unequipped to live anywhere happily. This question needs further investigation.



5. Some respondents felt that the school taught native students to feel inferior. Possibly, means to prevent this teaching should be investigated and put into practice. The generalizability, validity and implications of this finding need further investigation.
6. Some of the respondents' accounts seem to indicate that racism may be institutionalized in the school system (cf. Baratz and Baratz 1970). This might be a subject for further research.
7. Descriptions of their experiences in schools by respondents seem to indicate that in many instances these experiences are destructive. It may be that measures to remove or alleviate this destructiveness need to be investigated, or that the policy of compulsory education for native students should be investigated and possible alternatives examined. This area is in need of further investigation.
8. Respondents reported considerable encouragement from families and home communities to further their education. They also reported being accused by other natives of being "whitewashed," of forgetting their people and heritage, and of "acting smart"; and being subjected to humiliation, rejection and physical attack. This seeming paradox may be an indication of an ambivalent attitude toward formal education and it

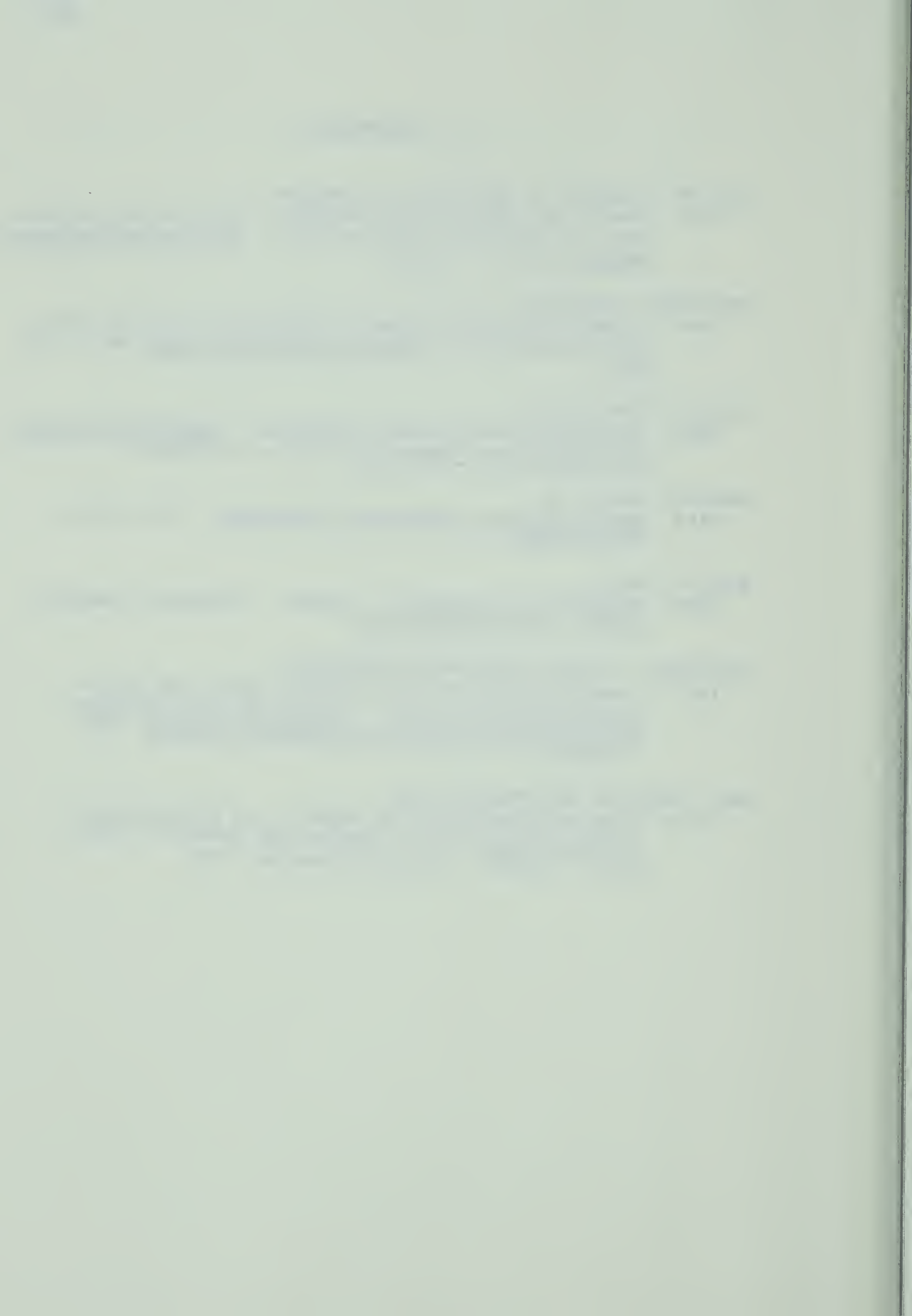


may place respondents in a quandary. This problem needs further research.

9. Respondents viewed education as a primary means to the betterment of the lot of natives. There is some evidence to the contrary (cf. Wax and Wax 1968; Fisher 1966). If so, this view may be dysfunctional. Further investigation is needed to determine the generalizability of the finding and the accuracy of the belief.

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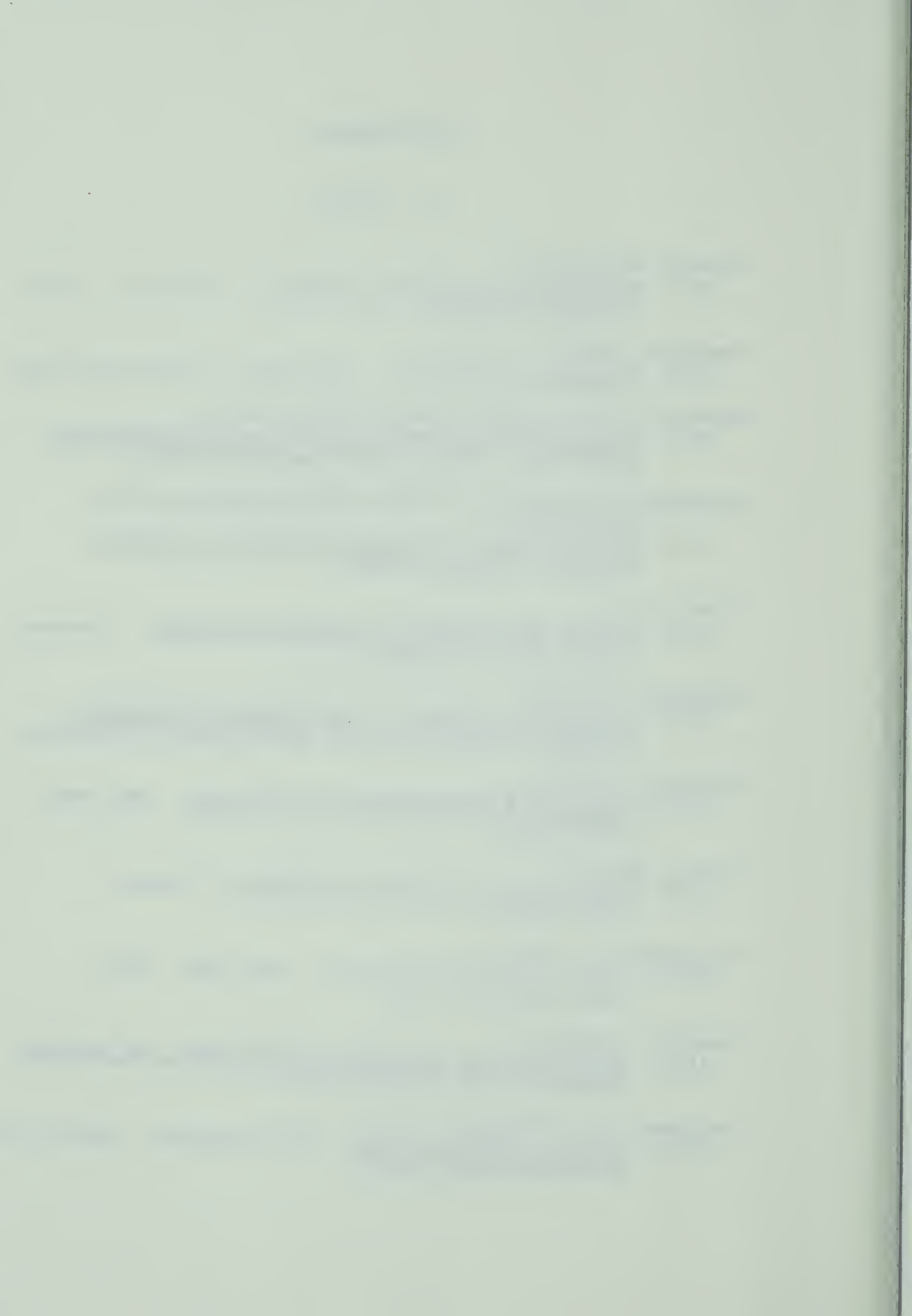
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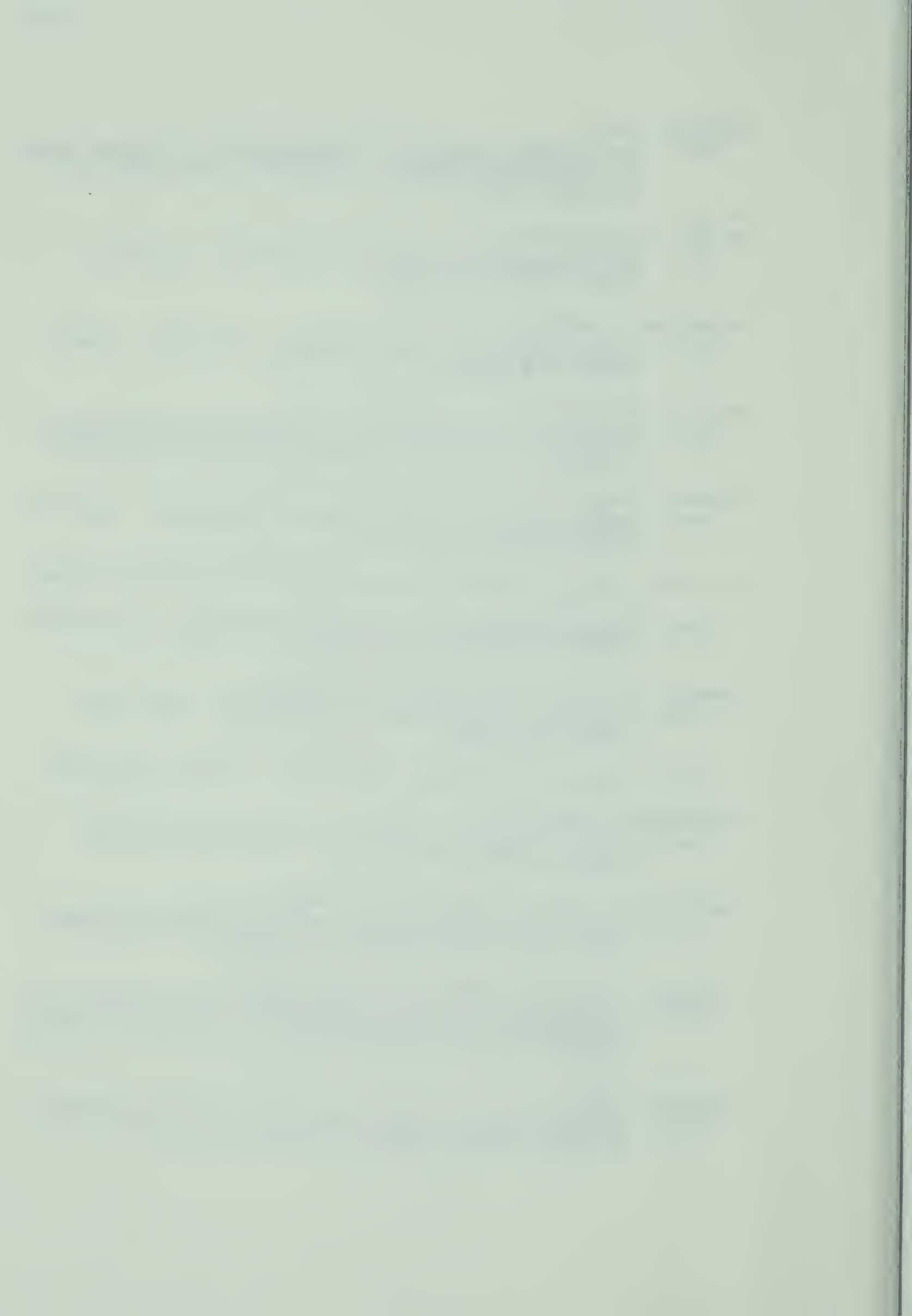
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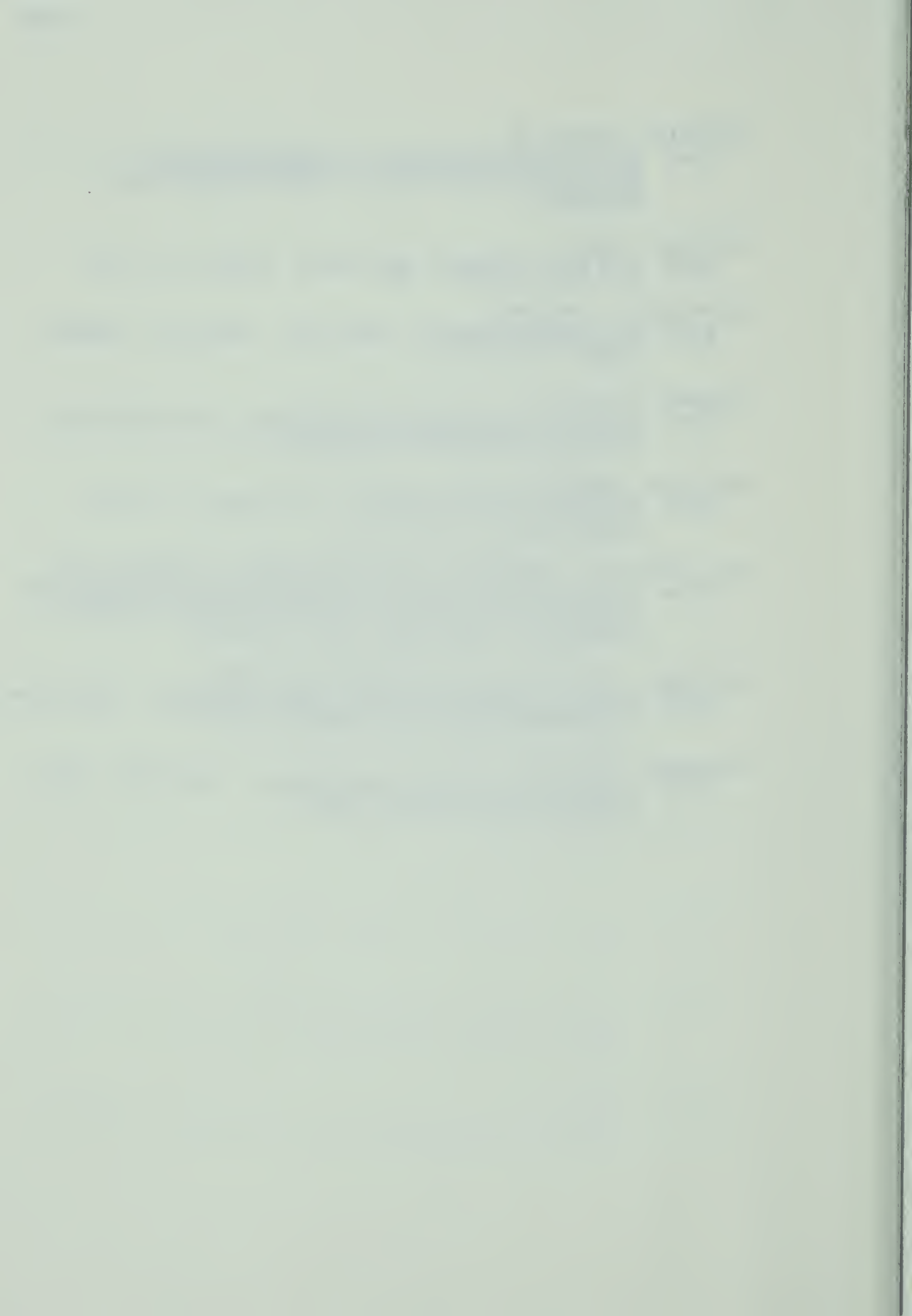
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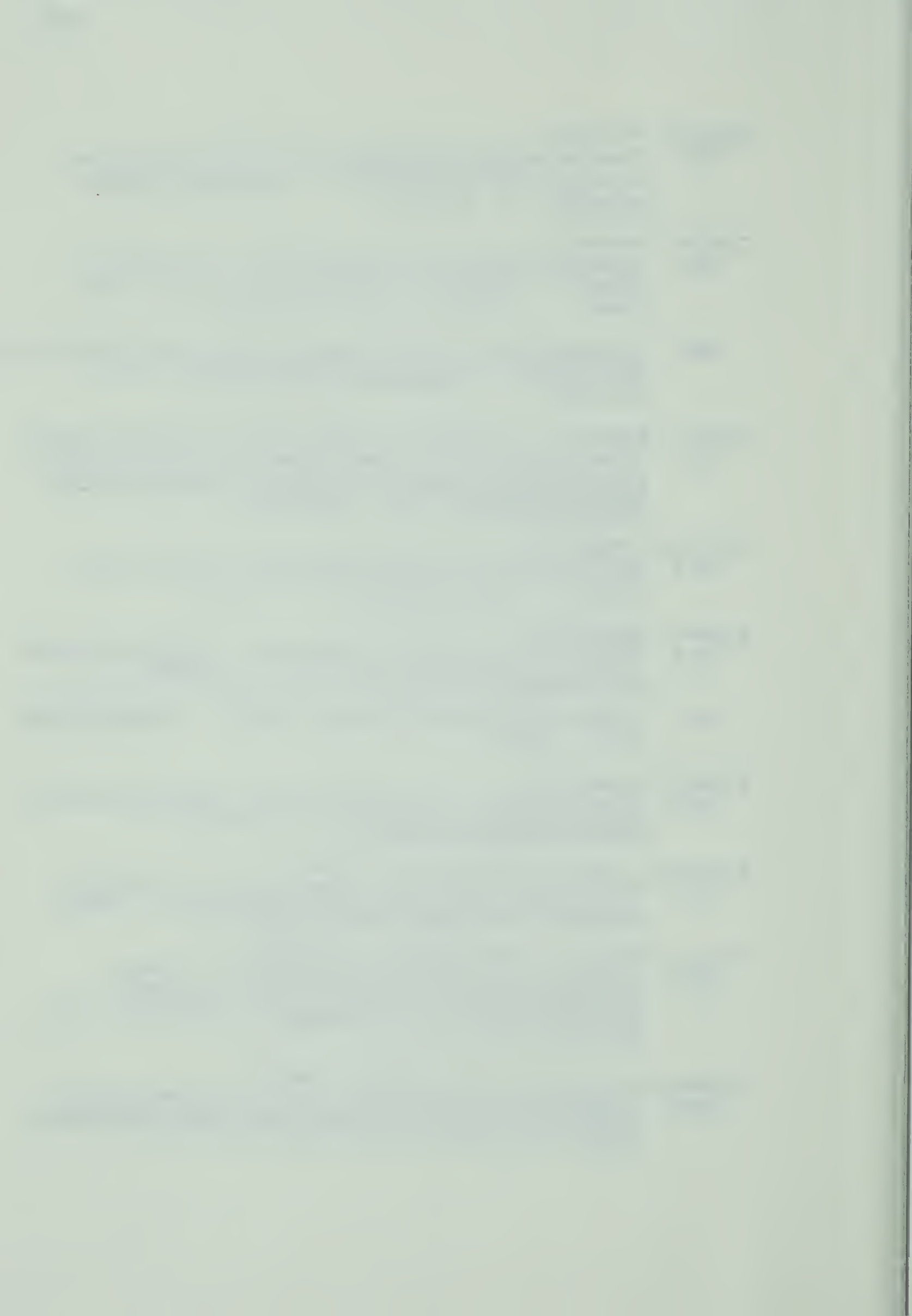
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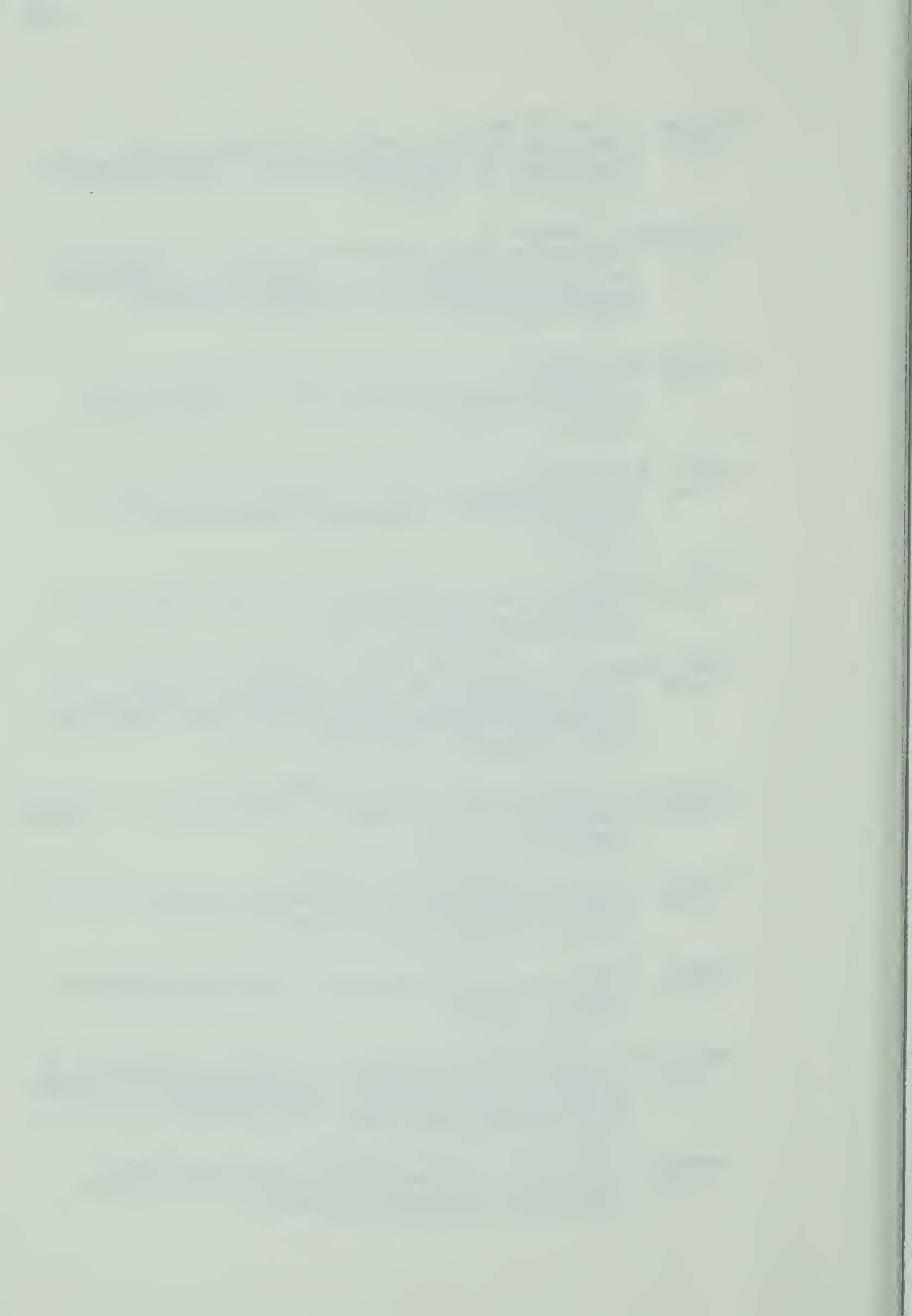
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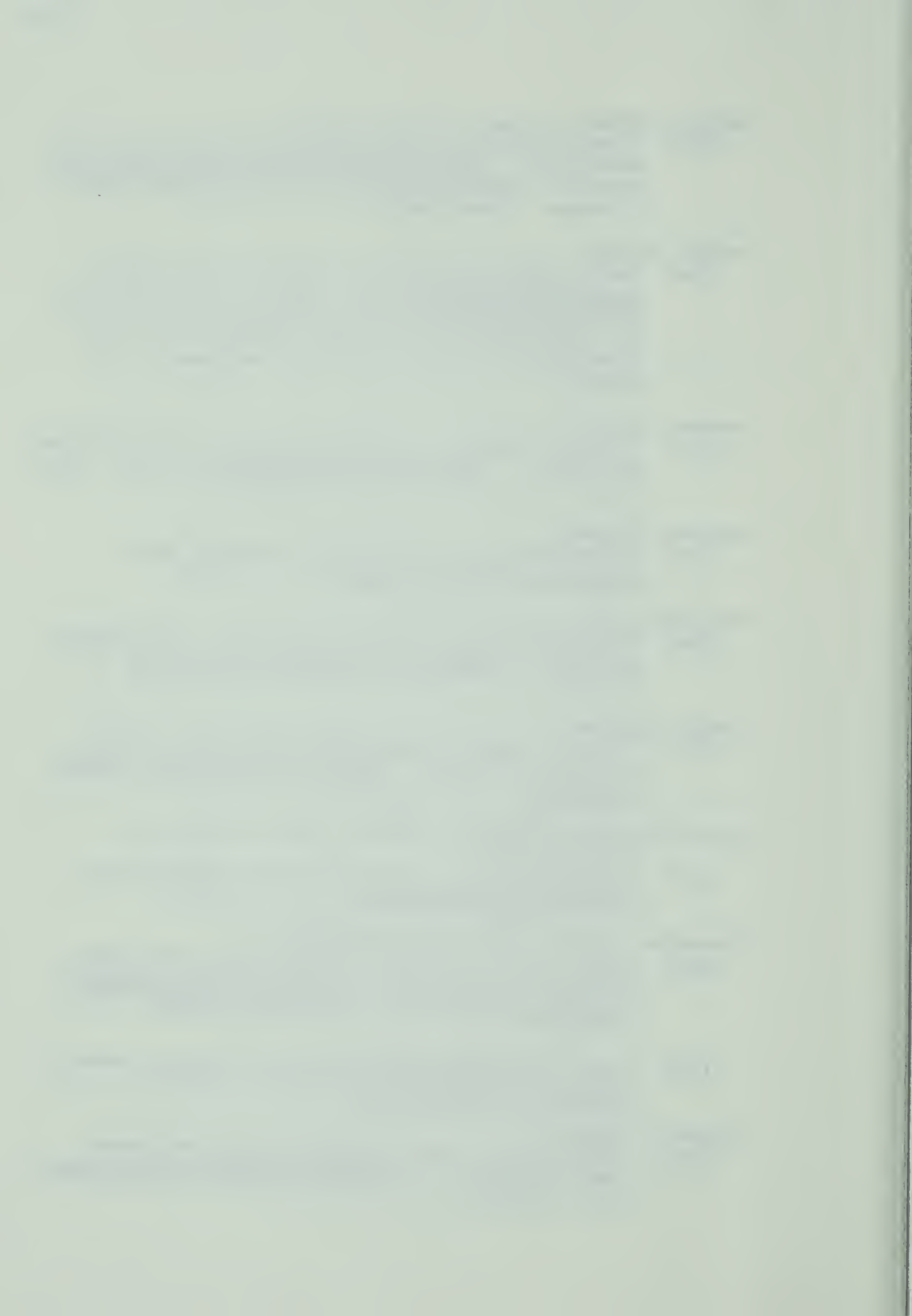
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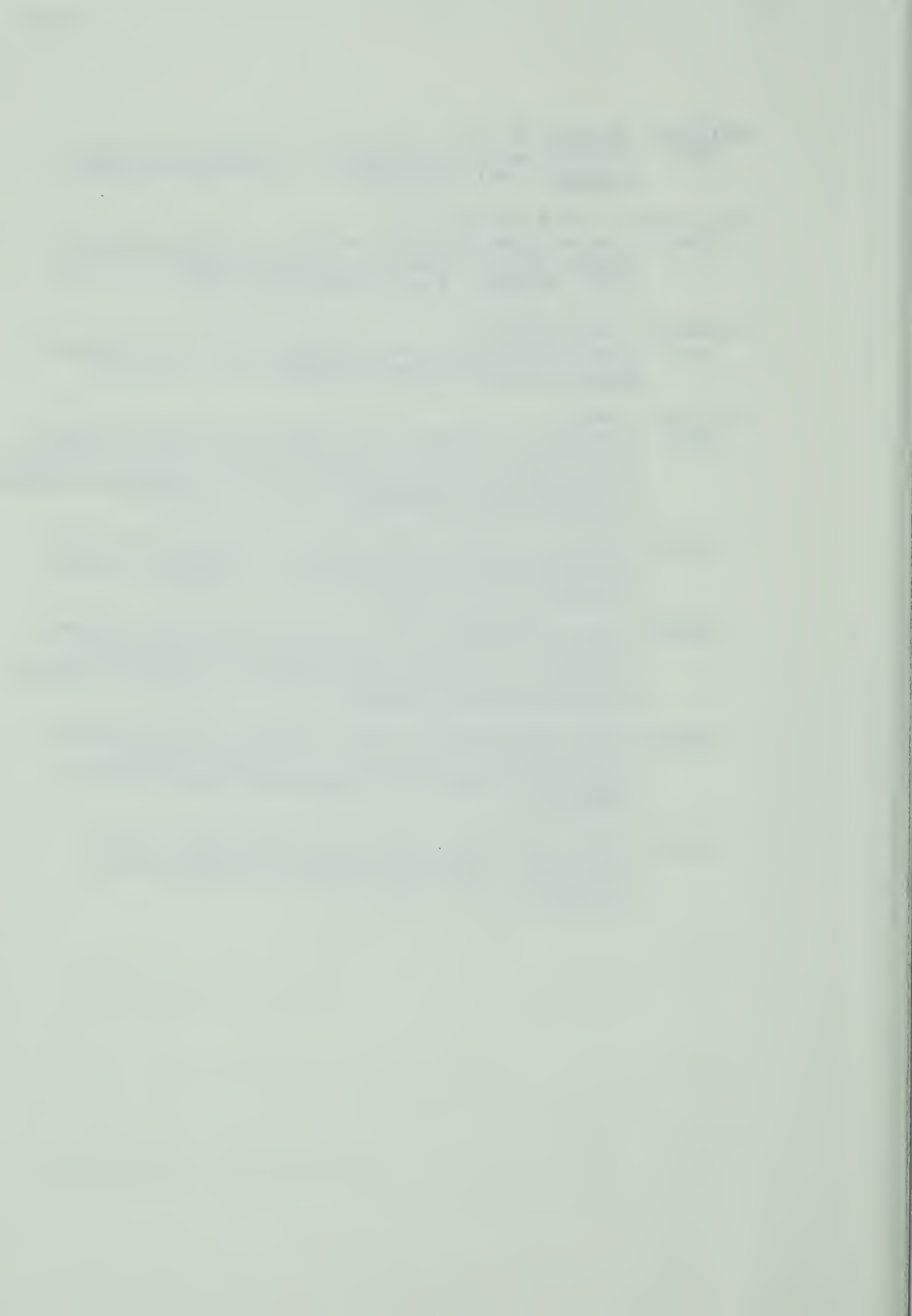
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APPENDIX

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE



APPENDIX

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

A. General

1. Name?
2. Age?
3. What school do you go to?
4. What grade are you in?
5. Where are you from?
6. Are you a Treaty Indian? (If so)
 - a. What band are you from?
 - b. Were you raised on the reserve?
 - i. Which reserve?
 - ii. Were you born there?
 - iii. Do your parents still live there?
7. Are you Metis? (If so)
 - a. Were you raised on a colony?
 - i. Which colony?
 - ii. Were you born there?
 - iii. Do your parents still live there?
8. How many brothers and sisters do you have?
 - a. Do any of them still go to school?
 - i. Where?
 - ii. What grades are they in?
 - b. What are the others doing?
9. Do you speak a native language?
 - a. Which one?
 - b. What language was used at home?
 - c. Did you learn to speak English before you started school?

B. The City

1. How long have you been in the city?
2. How did you happen to end up in Edmonton?



3. What did your parents think of you coming out to Edmonton?
4. What do you think of Edmonton?
 - a. What sort of things do you like about it?
 - b. What don't you like about it?
5. Would you like to keep on living in the city?
 - a. Why?
6. Do you keep in touch with many people of native ancestry in the city?
7. Do you think you can be an "Indian" in the city?
8. There seem to be a lot of native kids who drop out of school in the city and go back home. Why do you think they go back?

C. School Life

1. What do you hope to do when you finish school?
2. Where all have you gone to school?
3. How do you like school?
 - a. What do you like about it?
 - b. What don't you like about it?
4. Are there any teachers that you remember as being better or nicer teachers than the others?
 - a. What did you like about them?
5. Were there any that you really didn't like?
 - a. Why?
6. Have you ever felt that some kids were treated differently because they were Indian? (by teachers)
 - a. When was that?
7. How do White kids treat native kids at school?
8. How do the White kids treat you?
9. Do you think it's tougher for an Indian kid in school than a White one?
 - a. Why?
10. Do you participate in extra-curricular activities?
 - a. What do you do?

11. What do you do after school?
12. What are the kids you used to go to school with doing now?
 - a. Are many of them finishing school?
 - b. What are the ones who quit doing now?
 - c. Why do you think so many dropped out?
13. Have you ever thought about quitting school?
 - a. What made you decide not to?
14. What do your parents think of your going to school in the city?
15. What do your grandparents think of your going to school in the city?
16. What's it like to come into the city from a place like your home? What was that first week or so like?
 - a. What about starting school?
17. How do you like the idea of living in a dormitory?
 - a. Do you think they're a good idea?
18. Which would you like better - living in residence or in a private home?
 - a. Why?
19. Which kind of school would you prefer - a residential one (like Grouard or St. Paul) or one in the city like St. Joe's?
 - a. Why?
20. How do you think the schools could be made better places for native students like you to go to?
21. Do you think it would be a good idea if natives ran their own schools, like at Blue Quills?
 - a. Why?
22. Do you think there should be special courses for native students to take?
 - a. What kind of courses?
 - b. Why?
23. Do you think that some school books could may be changed to make them better for native students?
 - a. How?

24. Do you think that teachers should have some sort of special training to deal with native students?
a. What kind of training?
25. Do you think it would be a good idea to have Indian teachers for Indian students?
26. In some places they're bringing in native aids - these are native assistants to help the teachers. What do you think of this?
27. Something else they talk about is using Cree or Chip or whatever in the first few grades at school. Do you think that would help?
a. Why?
28. How do the older people feel towards people like yourself who get an education?
a. Do they ever make fun of you?

D. Culture

1. What is it like at your home?
2. What do most of the people do there?
3. Would you like to go back and live there?
a. Why?
b. Would you if you could get a job?
4. Do you think you'd be happy there?
5. Some people say that reservations should be done away with? How do you feel?
a. What do you think is going to happen to them?
6. What do you think the reservation means to an Indian?
7. Do you know much about the Indian religion?
a. What can you tell me about it?
8. Have you ever gone to a tea dance?
a. What are they like?
9. Do they still do any of the other dances they used to do?
a. What are they like?
10. If you had the chance, would you now take part in any



of these dances?

11. Have you ever gone to a pow-wow?
 - a. What are they like?
12. Have you ever heard the old people talking about the way things used to be?
 - a. What do they say?
 - b. Do they ever talk about their tribal ancestors?
13. Do you know any of the old stories?
 - a. Would you like to tell them?
14. Do the old people talk about the old religion much anymore?
 - a. Do you know if any of them still practice it?
 - b. Do you believe in it?

E. Miscellaneous

1. Do you think Indians are different from White people?
 - a. How?
 - b. Do you think they think differently?
2. Do you think that White people discriminate against Indians?
3. Do you think it's harder to get a job if you're an Indian?
4. What do you think is going to happen to the Indian?
 - a. Would it be good if he disappeared?
5. What does being of native ancestry mean to you?
6. How do other Indians feel about Indians who try to pass into the White society?
 - a. How do you feel about them?
7. Do you read any native newspapers?
 - a. Which ones?

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